West Virginia History

A Quarterly Magazine

January, 1941

Roy Bird Cook, *Editor* — Innis C. Davis, *Managing Editor*

VOLUME II — NUMBER 2

Contents

West Virginia Archaeology, by H. C. Shetrone 99
La Salle and the Ohio River, by Daniel C. Draper 102
The West Virginia-Ohio Boundary, by Eugene O. Porter 113
Documents:
Excerpts from Swann's "Prison Life at Fort Delaware," edited by Elizabeth Cometti 120
West Virginians in the American Revolution, assembled and edited by Ross B. Johnston 142
Book Reviews:
Griffin, *Frank R. Stockton, A Critical Biography*, by Dudley R. Hutcherson 153
Freeman, *The South to Posterity: An Introduction to the Writing of Confederate History*, by Festus P. Summers 155
Harmer, *Old Grist Mills of Harrison County*, by E. E. Meredith 156
Turner, *Stories and Verse of West Virginia*, by Roger A. Young, Jr. 157
Russell, *The British Regime in Michigan and the Old Northwest, 1760-1796*, by A. Conn Klinger 158
State History as Featured by the Press 161
Recent Publications of Interest to West Virginians 167
Contributors 168
Editor's Page 169

West Virginia History, a quarterly magazine published in January, April, July, and October, by the State Department of Archives and History, Charleston, West Virginia.

Subscription price ..... $2.00 per year
Single number ..... 50 cents

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and subscriptions may be sent to the editors, care of the Department of Archives and History.

The Department of Archives and History assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors.

Offices: State Capitol, Charleston, West Virginia.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/west-virginia-history_1941-01_2_2

West Virginia Archaeology

By H. C. Shetrone

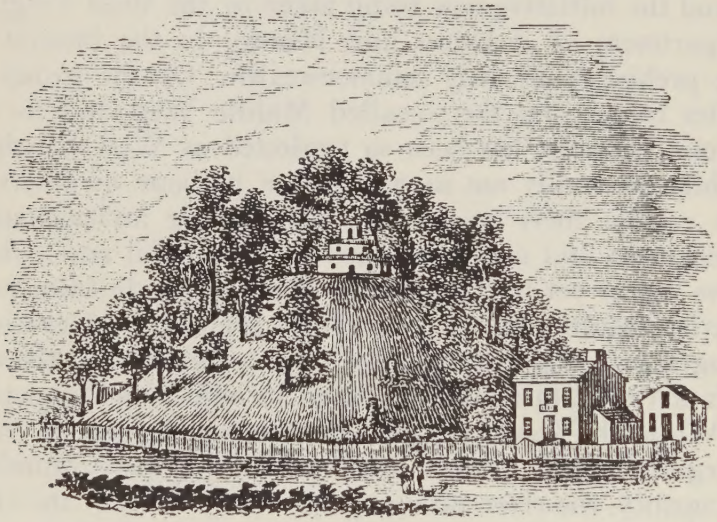
Students of American archaeology as a group will applaud the initiative now being taken by the West Virginia Department of Archives and History in the interest of the prehistory of that commonwealth. Of the group of states comprising the so-called Middle West and its environs, no other has been so neglected as West Virginia. While externally not so spectacular, perhaps, as others of the region, there are certain outstanding archaeological phenomena and numerous potentially fruitful ones, which have not as yet been exploited. Entirely aside from prospective results, *per se,* a carefully planned and executed program of exploration in the state is essential to the correlation of data already at hand in adjoining districts.

While the lesser known mountainous regions of West Virginia appear to offer little evidence of pre-Columbian occupancy, the river valleys, particularly those of the Ohio and the Kanawha, unquestionably are fertile fields for investigation. In so far as major evidences apply, the Kanawha Valley, from its junction with the Ohio and extending up the valley for approximately 100 miles, is outstanding.

There are few recent data by which this region may be evaluated. However, many of the extensive mounds and other earthworks just below Charleston, reported by Cyrus Thomas in 1891, are known to have survived the exigencies of industrial development. This group, extending for a distance of five or six miles along the Kanawha, originally comprised more than 50 earthen tumuli and at least ten earthen enclosures. Numerous petroglyphs originally were reported for the lower course of the Kanawha, while mounds and enclosures are noted for Putnam, Mason,

Fayette, and Cabell counties. The numerous stone "cairns" near Mount Carbon in Fayette County, together with the petroglyphs, mounds, and enclosures reported for that vicinity, are prospective sources of investigation.

The noted Grave Creek Mound, at Moundsville, naturally assumes first place as a spectacular attraction, sharing as it does with the Miamisburg Mound, Montgomery County, Ohio, the reputation of being the highest conical



—Howe's *The Historical Collections of Virginia*

The Mammoth Mound at Grave Creek (Moundsville)

burial mound in America. Which of these two tumuli originally surpassed the other in height cannot now be determined, because of attempted exploration by early "treasure seekers" and the consequent displacement of their apices. Both at present are approximately 70 feet in height.

The exploratory shafts sunk by early "pot-hunters" into the Grave Creek and the Miamisburg mounds, from their apices presumably to their bases, in each instance disclosed burials and artifacts which identify them definitely with the so-called Adena culture, first recognized and named in Ohio. The fact that the large Smith mound

and some others of the Charleston group yielded similar finds, not only suggests an Adena cultural identity or affinity for the Kanawha Valley but also indicates a wider distribution for the culture as such than previously had been recognized.

It may be comforting to know that the casual "diggings" into these two great tumuli presumably disclosed only a small fraction of their total contents of burials and relics. Each without doubt still contains numerous interments of human skeletons with their accompanying "grave goods."

Because of their great size and the prohibitive cost of total examination, the Grave Creek and the Miamisburg mounds are not likely to be further disturbed. The material culture of the Adena peoples already is pretty well known; whatever else may be needed may be had from smaller and less conspicuous tumuli. The Grave Creek Mound is, or should be, a priceless material and cultural asset to the State of West Virginia. Its preservation is a matter of national import.

La Salle and the Ohio River

By Daniel C. Draper

In the year of our Lord 1669, the news spread through the hamlets of New France that La Salle begged leave from the Intendent Talon to seek an Eldorado in the West. Pierre Radisson had said that a forked river flowed south to Mexico:[1] was it the "Messippi" that wandering Sioux at the mission at Saulte-Sainte Marie had described to Father Allouez,[2] or was it the passage to Cathay that Jean Nicolet had sought?

Deprived of his inheritance at Rouen,[3] Rene Robert Cavelier,[4] Sieur de la Salle, three years before had sailed to the New World. Montreal, then a straggling village, feared the Iroquois scourge,[5] and so La Salle through his brother, a Sulpician abbe, had easily secured a remote seigneury near the western tip of the island.[6] Here isolated during the winter of 1668-69, Senecas described to their youthful listener "the white foaming river" called in Iroquois "Ohio,"[7] that flowed to the south.[8] La Salle soon tired of the sedentary life of a feudal seigneur. In the spring, he left for Quebec.

---

[1] Gideon D. Scull, *Voyages of Pierre Radisson*, Prince Society, 1885, reprinted in Louise P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of The Northwest*, New York, 1917, p. 61.

[2] Reuben Thwaites ed. *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Cleveland, 1898, LI, p. 53.

[3] Francis Parkman states in his *La Salle and The Great West*, Boston, 1896, p. 1 that La Salle "brought himself under the operation of the law, which debarred those, who having religious orders, afterwards withdrew, from claiming the inheritance of relatives who died after their entrance." It is not clear what vows La Salle took in the Jesuit school at Rouen.

[4] Some authorities omit the "René."

[5] See George M. Wrong, *The Rise and Fall of New France*, New York, 1928, I, pp. 379-80.

[6] The French "Belle Rivière" was generally supposed a translation from the Indian; but the Reverend John Heckwelder asserts that "Ohio" is a corruption of the Indian "white foaming river" *Trans. of Am. Phil. Soc.* (new series), IV, pp. 369-70.

[7] Fr. René Galinée, *Récit de ce qui s'est passe de plus remarquable dans le Voyage de M.M. Dollier et Galinée*, Bibliotheque Nationale, Collection, Renadaut, XXX. Reprinted in Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Francais dans l'Amerique Septentrionale*, I, pp. 112-116.

[8] L. P. Kellogg, *op cit.* p. 164.

Perhaps the ever ready tongue of the explorer, but more probably the prospect of new fur trade[9] prompted Talon to authorize an expedition.[10] The Sulpicians, meanwhile, jealous of the ascendency of the Jesuits both in the civil government and in the western missions, determined to convert the south shore of Lake Erie, the one region that the Jesuits had not yet penetrated.[11] Dollier de Casson of noble Breton family, a former office of Turenne who was later to become Father Superior of the Order, headed the missionaries.[12] At the Governor's instance, the two parties coalesced.[13] The time was auspicious. The Iroquois raids, prolonged and fierce, which for so long had arrested westward expansion, had just ended with the victory of Tracy,[14] To facilitate the expedition, furthermore, the Sulpicians agreed to repurchase part of La Salle's seigneury.[15] On July 6, the party left Montreal.[16]

In his *Recit,*[17] Father Galinee, the map-maker, takes up the narrative. Moving leisurely, after thirty-five days the twenty-one men and seven canoes reached Irondequoit Bay on the south shore of Lake Ontario.[18] Some fifteen miles distant in a Seneca village, they attempted to secure guides; but the chiefs begged them "to wait till their people" returned from trade with the Dutch. Day after day went by. Winter was coming. Senecas assiduously plied the party with tales of hostile Eries[19] on the Genesee route;[20] but

---

[9] Charles Whittelsey, "The Discovery of The Ohio by La Salle," *Magazine of Western Hist.*, I, p. 7. Louis XIV exercised extreme parsimony toward his Canadian officers. The Governor-General was unable to live on his salary. All officers were expected to make up the deficiency in fur trade.

[10] *New York Colonial Doc.*, New York, IX, p. 64 dated Quebec October 10, 1670. See also Parkman, *op. cit.* p. 9 *et seq.*

[11] Parkman, *op. cit.* p. 17 *passim.*

[12] L. P. Kellogg, *op. cit.* p. 167 *passim.*

[13] *Ibid.* 169.

[14] G. M. Wrong, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 379-80.

[15] See also Pierre Margry, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 103, 104; the contribution of Margry is favorably evaluated in John S. Basset and Sidney Fay, "Letters of Parkman to Margry," *Smith College Studies in Hist.*, VIII, April-July, 1923; but see L. P. Kellogg, *Canadian Hist.* Rev., XIII, p. 444.

[16] F. Parkman, *op. cit.* p. 11.

[17] L. P. Kellogg, *op. cit.* p. 164.

[18] *Ibid.* 177.

[19] Perhaps either the Jesuit priest or the fearful memory of the late war influenced them. Fr. Galinée remarks that his Jesuit colleague was absent at the time of the visit. The Eries were enemies of the Iroquois and were finally annihilated by them, Solon J. Buck, *The Planning of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania*, Pittsburgh, 1938, pp. 24-25.

[20] For 180 miles the Genesee route follows the Genesee River which flows into Lake Ontario. At Belmont, seat of Allegany County, New York, it crosses a portage of twenty miles to the Allegany River at Olean.

fortunately a passing Iroquois[21] offered to lead them to the western tip of Ontario, where more friendly Indians relinquished a prisoner who knew the trail to the Ohio.[22] Strange news checked again the departure. Frenchmen were at hand.

Louis Joliet, sent by Talon to discover copper mines, was returning home unsuccessful. Stopping with the party, he persuaded the Sulpicians that the Pottawattomies, in central Michigan, needed "spiritual succor."[23] In vain, La Salle recalled that the Jesuits had preempted that region; and so, with illness as a pretext, he remained behind. Father Galinee presumed that once winter set in the explorer would return to Montreal.[24]

Just where La Salle then went, scholars disagree. Francis Parkman,[25] Justin Winsor,[26] Pierre Margry,[27] and more recently George M. Wrong,[28] and Clarence A. Vandiveer[29] assert that he discovered the Ohio River; and Reuben Thwaites in *The Jesuit Relations* corroborates them.[30] Although Isaac Joslin Cox seems doubtful,[31] Alvord and Bidgood, on the other hand, reject the claim.[32] Louise P. Kellogg,[33] Solon J. Buck,[34] Dan E. Clark,[35] and Theodore Pease,[36] in passing, likewise question its validity. Charles Hanna gives this theory its most detailed support.[37] All these authorities, however, ignore the earlier work of Whittelsey.[38]

---

[21] F. Parkman *op. cit.* suggests that it was an Ottawa and thus appears to differ with Fr. Galinée's *Recit supra* note 8 as to the exact tribe to which the Indian belonged.

[22] L. P. Kellogg, *op. cit.* pp. 190-91.

[23] Some authors imply that there was envy on Joliet's part; but no evidence has been adduced to prove the fact.

[24] L. P. Kellogg, *op. cit.* p. 164.

[25] Francis Parkman, *op. cit.* p. 21 *et seq.*

[26] Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, New York, 1884, IV, p. 207 and 245.

[27] Parkman, *op. cit.* p. ix.

[28] George M. Wrong, *op. cit.*, I, p. 428.

[29] Clarence Vandeveer, *The Fur Trade and Early Exploration*, Cleveland, 1929, p. 66.

[30] R. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LVII, pp. 315-317.

[31] Isaac Joslin Cox, *Journeys of La Salle*, New York, 1905, I, pp. xi-xiii.

[32] Clarence Alvord and Lee Bidgood, *The First Explorations of The Trans-Allegany Region by The Virginians 1650-1674*, Cleveland, 1912, p. 24.

[33] L. P. Kellogg, "History of the Cavelier de la Salle, 1643-87 by Paul Chesnel," *Canad. Hist. Rev.* XIII, p. 444.

[34] Solon J. Buck, *The Planning of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania*, Pittsburgh, 1939, p. 46-47.

[35] Dan E. Clark, *The West in American Hist.*, New York, 1937, p. 49.

[36] Theodore Pease, *Anglo-French Boundary Disputes*, Springfield, 1936, (Coll. of the Ill. State Hist. Library, XVII, French Series, II), p. lix.

[37] Charles Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, New York, 1911, p. 87 *et seq.*

[38] Charles Whittelsey, *Western Reserve Tracts*, No. 38.

That author points out that, in northeastern Ohio shortly before and after the Civil War, the felling of certain trees revealed cross-sections gashed by broad-bitted axes. For example, in northwestern Canfield, Mahoning County, Ohio, an oak when fourteen inches in diameter had received a seven-inch cut;[39] but so thoroughly had the abrasion healed that externally it did not appear. A count of the rings revealed that the cutting probably occurred between 1670 and 1675.[40] The broad-bitted axe was then unknown to the Indian trade;[41] and presumably, therefore, white men did the chopping. Moreover, the Indian trail nearby which led from the Cuyahoga and Lake Erie to the Mahoning, a branch of the Ohio, is the path La Salle might well have used. In adjacent Ashtabula County, a hickory standing near the main Indian trail parallel to Lake Erie, about 1670 was likewise slashed.

Until recently, the warring Iroquois had kept *coureurs de bois,* or huntsmen from the region;[42] and surely either Father Galinee or other contemporary journals would have recorded similar French activity in northern Ohio. Talon, moreover, does not mention it in his dispatches to Louis XIV, as he doubtless would have done if he had had a large party in the region.[43] The number and geographical distribution of the gashes probably preclude the possibility of a single isolated wanderer; and La Salle's party of fourteen men, therefore, would appear to have been the axemen.[44]

This might seem to support the view that La Salle discovered the Ohio; and Parkman and Margry cite also as evidence the *Histoire de Monsieur de la Salle*:

---

[39] Whittelsey states that this specimen was in the Museum of the Western Historical Society in Cleveland.

[40] Such "rings" appear entirely accurate for historical purposes.

[41] Sir William Talbot, *The Discoveries of John Ledcrer*, London, 1672, reprinted in Alvord and Bidgood, *op. cit.* p. 169 states: "To the remoter Indians, you must carry other kinde of truck as small looking glasses, pictures, beads and bracelets of glass, knives, sizars [sic], and all manner of gaudy toys and knacks for children, which are light and portable." At this period, broad-bitted axes were not even items of trade with the nearer Indians.

[42] G. M. Wrong, *op. cit.*, I, p. 373 *et seq.*

[43] *New York Col. Doc.*, New York, IX, p. 64 *passim.*

[44] L. P. Kellogg, *op. cit.* p. 177.

However, Monsieur de la Salle continued his journey [after leaving Father Galinee] on a river which flows from East to West and passes Onondaga, six or seven leagues below Lake Erie. Having come to the two hundred and eightieth or eighty-third degree of longitude and the forty-first degree of latitude, he found high falls which fell toward the West into a great marsh . . . [45]

The writer clearly was ignorant of American geography. The forty-first parallel does not cross the Ohio, and even at its nearest point is almost thirty miles to the north. The River, furthermore, has no real falls and at high water only low rapids at Louisville. Later the document declares that La Salle also discovered the Mississippi;[46] but here even Parkman discredits the *Histoire,* and concedes, "Seven years had passed since the alleged discovery, and La Salle had not yet laid claim to it; although it was a matter of notoriety that during five of these years it had been claimed by Joliet, and that his claim was generally admitted."[47] The authorship of this curious document is clouded in mystery; but Parkman suggests that Abbe Renaudot, a propagandist for La Salle and his patron the Prince de Conti, was the anonymous writer.[48] In this event, the work was probably published to raise funds for La Salle's adventures, and its impartiality is questionable.

A petition to Count Frontenac attributed by Parkman to La Salle, however, would appear to buttress the *Histoire*:

In the year 1667 and following he [La Salle] made various voyages at considerable expense in which he discovered the vast country to the south of the Great Lakes, and among other things the river Ohio; he followed it to the place where it falls precipitately into a vast marsh above the thirty-seventh parallel, after having been enlarged by another sizeable river which comes from the north; and the resultant river system apparently discharges into the Gulf of Mexico.[49]

---

[45] In the original the text as quoted by Parkman, *op. cit.* pp. 22-23 reads: "Cependant M. de la Salle continua son Chemin par une rivière qui va de l'est à l'ouest; et passe à Onontaque [Onondaga], puis a six ou sept lieues au-dessous du Lac Erie; et estant parvenu jusqu'au 280me ou 83me degré de longitude, et jusqu'au 41me degré de latitude, trouva un saulte qui tombe vers l'ouest dans une pays bas marescageux, tout couvert de vielles souches, donts il y en quelques-unes qui sont encore sur pieds."

[46] Parkman *op. cit.* p. 23.

[47] *Ibid.* 25.

[48] *Ibid.* 95 *et seq.* and note.

[49] *Ibid.* 24. The text in the original is as follows: "L'année 1667, et suivantes, il fit [note third person] divers voyages avec beaucoup de dépenses, dans lesquels il découvrit le premier beaucoup de pays au sud de grand lacs, et *entre autres le grande rivière d'Ohio*; il la suivit jusqu'à un endroit ou elle tombe de fort haut dans de vaste marais, à la hauteur de 37 degres, apres avoir été grossie par une autre riviere fort large qui vient du nord; et toutes ces eaux se déchaigent selon toutes apparences dans le Golfe du Mexique."

If really written by La Salle, this quotation is in the third person; but this would appear unusual in the case of Governor Frontenac with whom the explorer was on intimate terms.[50] The handwriting, furthermore, has never positively been identified.[51] Alvord is of the opinion that the success of Joliet and his supporters, the Jesuits, in the discovery of the Mississippi "chagrined" La Salle and his friends, and that, to counteract this *coup,* they went so far as to "manufacture an account [the *Histoire*] of early explorations" to prove that the explorer canoed down the Ohio in 1669.[52] Alvord continues, ". . . they even interpolated in a petition [see above] a clause claiming that he had made the discovery of the Ohio."[53] Unfortunately the reader is referred for details only to a study that apparently was never published.

On superficial examination, Joliet's maps seem to corroborate Parkman's view. The original *Carte Generale,*[54] however, sketches only the mouth of the Ohio, and a later draughtsman has clumsily inserted the upper reaches of the river. This would appear to support Alvord's view that the evidence of Parkman is a later fabrication. In "Joliet's smaller map,"[55] according to the legend inserted just above the Ohio, La Salle descended the stream "after coming out from Lake Erie in order to go to Mexico." Since the explorer did not plan to go to Mexico until after 1684, this inscription would hardly serve as proof of his discovery in 1670. La Salle's papers for this later period contain no mention of it.[56] According to Parkman, the "map of the Basin of the Great Lakes"[57] was drafted in 1673 before

---

[50] Justin Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, Boston, 1894, p. 251; Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac,* Chicago and Saint Louis, 1903, p. 164.

[51] C. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail,* New York, 1911, p. 88.

[52] Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country 1673-1818,* (The Centenniel History of Illinois, I), Springfield, 1920, p. 78; see also Theodore Pease and Raymond Werner, *The French Foundations 1680-93,* (Collection of the Illinois State Library, XXIII), Springfield, 1934, p. 135.

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] *La Carte Generale* although attributed to Joliet was probably the work of La Salle's geographer, Franquelin. It is reproduced in Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America,* Boston, 1884, IV, p. 218.

[55] Justin Winsor, *The Mississippi Basin,* Boston and New York, 1895, pp. 28-29.

[56] See *Relation des découvertes et des Voyages du Sieur de la Salle . . faits par l'ordre de Monseigneur Colbert* in P. Margry, *op. cit.,* I, pp. 435-544.

[57] J. Winsor, *Narrative and Crit. op. cit.,* IV, p. 215.

Joliet's descent of the Mississippi. Although at that date the Ohio at its mouth was not identified with the Ohio of the Iroquois but rather was known as the Wabash or "Chucagoa," yet in this map, as Hanna and Shea point out,[58] the upper and lower reaches of the river are recognized as one.

Although in his "Map of Louisiana or the Voyages of La Salle . . .," Franquelin, the geographer, portrays in detail the settlements of La Salle on the Illinois River, yet in comparison he barely sketches the Ohio despite the fact that in both cases its alleged discoverer was his informant.[59] The map distinguishes between the Ohio and Wabash Rivers, and thus discredits the view of Hanna that La Salle mistook the former for the latter.[60] Contemporary maps, therefore, offer no conclusive proof of La Salle's discovery.

Parkman declares that Madeleine Cavelier, the niece of the explorer, as late as 1756 possessed memoranda of this journey;[61] but Etienne de Silhouette, the French Controller General at that date, attempted to secure these papers, and failed.[62] The government of Louis XIV in its colonial struggle with England bent every effort to establish its priority in the Ohio Valley.

Contemporary sources are either curiously silent on La Salle's discovery or mention current events in a way incomprehensible if that discovery were generally known. Since La Salle opposed the Jesuit party in New France, they tend to ignore his activities, and thus their *Relations*, the great source for the period, cast no light on the prob-

---

[58] C. Hanna, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 88-89.

[59] *Ibid.* 91-94. Jean-Baptiste Louis Franquelin, born in 1653, was employed by the French colonial government as a map-maker.

[60] *Ibid.* p. 88.

[61] F. Parkman, *op. cit. La Salle*, p. 21. Talon, indeed, had ordered that such memoranda be prepared, see Whittelsey, *op. cit.* p. 6, memoir, October 10, 1670, cited in note 43. See also De Nouvelle to Seignelay, minister of marine, November 8, 1686, *New York Col. Doc.*, IX, p. 297: "I annex to this letter a memoir of our right to the whole of that country [the Ohio] of which our register ought to be full, but no memorials of them are to be found. I am told that M. Talon has the original of these entries in his possession of a great many discoveries that were made in this country, with which our register ought to be full. Doubtless, he has given to my late Lord, your father."

[62] Theodore Pease, *Anglo-French Boundary Disputes*, (Collection of the Ill. State Hist. Library, XXVII), Springfield, 1936, p. lix.

lem.[63] A memorial, however, to Louis XIV's minister of marine and colonies Seigneley, which naturally would place La Salle "in the most favorable light,"[64] mentions the expedition of Dollier de Casson, but makes no claim to the discovery of the Ohio.[65]

On a later expedition in 1682, La Salle's trusted lieutenant, Tonty declares in his *Relation,* ". . we killed there [near Tamaroa] some deer and then continued our journey and found, forty leagues from there, upon the left, a river called Oyo [Ohio] by the Iroquois and which, coming from the country of said Iroquois, must be from five to six hundred leagues in length."[66] When he passed the mouth of the river, surely La Salle would have told of his alleged discovery, and Tonty, "the man with the iron hand," could thus have recorded his master's new claim to glory.

Nicholas La Salle, a brother of the explorer on the same expedition, describes the Ohio ". . . on the following day, after having traveled eleven leagues, at one o'clock in the afternoon, on the left, we came upon the river Saint Louis, or Ouabach, or Chucagoua. This river, coming from the land of the Iroquois, had led to the belief that by following its course, a way to China could be found."[67] The explorer's own brother thus appears to be unaware of La Salle's previous discovery, or at least does not mention it.

Father Anastasius Douay the Recollect priest who recorded La Salle's later assassination at the hands of his own men writes as follows of his trip on August 26, 1688: "This famous river is full as large as the River Colbert [Mississippi], receiving a quantity of others by which you can enter it. The mouth, where it enters the River Colbert, is two hundred leagues from the Arkansa, according to the estimate of Sieur de la Salle, as he often told me . . ."[68]

---

[63] F. Parkman, *La Salle op. cit.*, pp. 91-94, 101-104, and 106-07.

[64] *Ibid.*, note on p. 27.

[65] *Memoir pour Monseigneur le marquis de Seignelay sur les découvertes du Sieur de la Salle*, Margry, *op. cit.*, II, p. 285.

[66] *Relation écrite de Quebec le 14 novembre 1684, par Henri Tonti* cited in Hanna, *op. cit.*, II, p. 90.

[67] *Recit de Nicolas de La Salle 1682*, Margry, I, *op. cit.*, pp. 550-551.

[68] Hanna, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 99-100.

Here also La Salle curiously omitted to tell of his earlier exploration. The official record for 1679-81, the *Relations et Decouvertes et des Voyages du Sieur de la Salle* . . . makes no mention of La Salle's alleged discovery, although the account describes the expedition of Dollier and states specifically that the explorer abandoned it on account of fever.[69] This account perhaps is based in this respect, however, on Father Galinee's *Recit*, and, therefore, may not be independent evidence.

Not only do the statements of contemporaries, but La Salle's own letters create the presumption that he did not discover the Ohio. Although in a letter inscribed September 29, 1680, he refers to the Ohio as the "river that I have found,"[70] his statements are so vague that Hanna points out, "There is nothing in this description which La Salle had not learned from the Senecas at La Chine [the derisive epithet for his seigniory], before setting off for their country in 1669 . . . ",[71] and this might easily refer to a visit to the river's mouth some years later.

In a letter dated August 22, 1681, to the Abbe Bernou, La Salle describes the Maumee River as "without doubt the passage into the Ohio or Allegany."[72] If in 1669-70 he had actually descended the Ohio, in 1683 he could hardly have been so uncertain of its course. La Salle's *proces-verbal* of April 9, 1682, describes the rivers that he discovered during recent explorations, and declares:[73] "Chucagoa, [the Ohio] is the river which we call the river Saint Louis. The Ohio (sic) is one of its branches [see Franquelin's attached map], which receives the waters of two other larger rivers before discharging into the river Saint Louis, namely the Agouassake [a tributary of the Wabash] from the North and the River of the Chaouesnons from the South . . . This river [the Ohio] is much wider in all that extent of country than the Colbert [Mississippi] River. *I have not been able to explore it.*"[74]

---

[69] P. Margry, *op. cit.*, I, 435-544.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 80.
[71] Hanna, *op. cit.*, II, p. 90.
[72] *Ibid.*, 89, 91.
[73] Margry, *op. cit.*, III, p. 639.
[74] My italics.

Galinee declares that La Salle intended to return to Montreal; but the axe marks suggest that he remained in northern Ohio.[75] Surely if the explorer spent the fall of 1670 in Montreal, his intimates only a few years later, would hardly have said that at that time he was discovering the Ohio; and, if he were not in Montreal, he may well have been on the south shore of Lake Erie securing pelts for the impecunious officials[76] on whose support he depended. Although Whittelsey errs in alleging that the Jesuits never mention La Salle in their *Relations,* his general conclusion that they hated him as a friend of the Sulpicians and as an apostate of the Society of Jesus still retains validity.[77] These forces, allied with merchants fearful of the explorer's monopolistic schemes, account in large measure for his subsequent failure.[78]

Just how extensive his explorations were is conjectural; but the axe marks suggest that he touched the Mahoning River which eventually reaches the Ohio;[79] and in this event he would precede by only a few months Batts and Fallam on New River.[80] The wanderings of Gabriel Arthur,[81] and the visit of Arnold Viele,[82] later in 1692, strengthen the English claim.

Behind efforts to prove priority of discovery loomed deep economic, political, and social forces — economic because the fur supply in Canada fast dwindled before the demand of French hatteries which supplied all Europe,[83] political because the prestige of two empires was at stake,[84] and social because the two imperial domains typified two contrasting frontiers. Although in both colonies the trader loomed large, in the French he was a mainstay, whereas

---

[75] Charles Whittelsey, *Western Reserve Tracts,* no. 38.

[76] See note 9.

[77] Whittelsey, *Mag. of West. Hist. op. cit.,* p. 4. See also index of *Jesuit Relations s. v.* La Salle.

[78] Thwaites, *Jesuit Rel. op. cit.,* LVII, p. 316.

[79] Some axe marks were found near the upper reaches, see note 39 and text.

[80] Charles Ambler, *West Virginia, The Mountain State,* New York, 1940, p. 40 *et seq.* For journals see Alvord and Bidgood. *First Explorations op. cit.,* pp. 70-75, and Robert Beverly, *History of Virginia,* London, 1722, pp. 62-64.

[81] C. Ambler, *op. cit.,* pp. 42-43; and Alvord and Bidgood, *Ibid.,* pp. 79-89.

[82] Helen Broshar, "The First Push Westward of the Albany Traders," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.,* VII, p. 229.

[83] Theodore Pease, *Anglo-French op. cit.,* p. xiii.

[84] *Ibid.,* xi *et seq.*

in the English, a mere excresence; and, in the case of the Ohio Company of Virginia, trade served only as a temporary expedient to finance permanent settlement.[85]

The French and Indian War was the sally of a retiring huntsman's frontier against an advancing agrarian frontier.[86] The Montreal trader rather than the English farmer would normally have complemented the Indian's seminomadic economy; but English sea power by harassing French merchantmen, the short-sighted French mercantilism, and the expulsion of artisan Hugenots after the Edict Of Nantes created higher prices for the Frenchman's product, and thus lost him Indian support.[87] Encouraged by the demand for cheap goods, Pennsylvania and later Virginia traders quickly penetrated almost to the French forts on the Illinois,[88] and endangered the communication between France's continental and West Indian possessions.[89] Disputes over La Salle's priority in the Ohio Valley, and the later incident at Fort Necessity,[90] therefore, were symptoms of steadily increasing pressure between two different yet simultaneously expanding frontiers.

---

[85] Kenneth P. Bailey, *The Ohio Company of Virginia and The Westward Movement*, Glendale, 1939, pp. 14-33; and Shaw Livermore, *Early American Land Companies*, New York, 1939, pp. 75-79.

[86] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, New York, 1920, p. 12 *et seq.*

[87] *New York Colonial Doc.*, New York, IX, p. 408.

[88] Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, op. cit.*, p. 187 *et seq;* Albert T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and The Westward Movement*, Cleveland, 1926, p. 36; and *Christopher Gist's Journals* (Darlinton ed.) p. 47.

[89] The French floated grain from Illinois via New Orleans to her West Indian possessions. See Charles Ambler, *Transportation in the Ohio Valley*, Glendale, 1932, p. 27.

[90] Charles Ambler, *George Washington and The West*, Chapel Hill, 1936, p. 65 *et seq.*

Section of map by Louis Franquelin, (Paris 1684) showing La Salles Discoveries.
From The Wilderness Trail, C. A. Hanna. (Putnam's N. Y. 1911)

The West Virginia-Ohio Boundary

By Eugene O. Porter

What is the West Virginia-Ohio boundary? Or, to put the question another way, how far does the jurisdiction of West Virginia extend over the Ohio River? Does West Virginia have jurisdiction to the Ohio shore at low-water mark, or does West Virginia hold title to the Ohio River to the "ordinary high-water mark" on the Ohio side?[1]

Obviously West Virginia's jurisdiction extends no farther than did Virginia's, and West Virginia admitted as much in her constitution of 1863. This document stated that the state's jurisdiction extended over "so much of the bed, banks, and shores of the Ohio river as heretofore appertained to the State of Virginia."[2] Her constitution of 1872, however, was more specific. It stated that her jurisdiction included "the bed, bank and shores of the Ohio river."[3] On the other hand, Ohio's constitution of 1802 merely stated that Ohio was "bounded on the east by the Pennsylvania line, [and] on the south by the Ohio river."[4] This clause was taken verbatim from Ohio's enabling act of November 29, 1802.[5]

It is not the purpose of this study to examine the several charters of Virginia in order to determine the validity of Virginia's claims to the Old Northwest.[6] It is enough to state that Virginia held uncontested claims to the territory west of Pennsylvania and north of the Ohio River to the

---

[1] It is true, of course, that control and supervision of navigable water are under the secretary of war. See 21 *op. Atty. Gen.*, 518.
[2] Art. I, sec. 2.
[3] Art. II, sec. 1.
[4] Art. VII, sec. 6.
[5] Henry Gannett, *Boundaries of the United States and of the Several States and Territories* (Washington, 1900, 2ed.), 116.
[6] *Ibid.*, 33.

forty-first parallel.[7] But in her deed of cession to the government of the confederation in 1784, Virginia ceded "all right, title, and claim, as well of soil as jurisdiction, which the said commonwealth hath to the territory within the limits of the Virginia charter, situate, lying and being to the northwest of the Ohio river."[8] Likewise, in her enabling act for Kentucky to form a constitution and become a state, Virginia stated that "the respective jurisdiction of this commonwealth and of the proposed state on the river as aforesaid, shall be concurrent only with the states that may possess the opposite shores of the said river."[9]

Kentucky, however, gave a new interpretation to this provision in the enabling act and in so doing she came into conflict with the federal government. It seems that a jut of land extended from the Indiana shore. At low-water mark this land formed a peninsula, but when the river was swollen the projection was completely surrounded by water and had the appearance, therefore, of an island. The federal government had granted patents for this land. Then Kentucky developed the theory that her jurisdiction extended to the opposite shore at high-water mark, and likewise granted patents for the projecting land. Finally, in 1820, the conflicting claims were carried before the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Handley's Lessee vs. Anthony.*

Chief Justice Marshall wrote the decision in this case. He denied Kentucky's claims in no uncertain terms, saying that,

> When a great river is the boundary between two nations or states, if the original property is in neither, and there be no conventions respecting it, each holds to the middle of the stream. But when, as in this case, one state is the original proprietor, and grants the territory on one side only, it retains the river within its own domain, and the newly created state extends to the river only. The river, however, is the boundary.

But,

> Whenever the river is a boundary between states, it is the main, per-

[7] For an excellent examination of Virginia's claims, see Samuel Vinton's defense speech in the case of the *Commonwealth vs. Garner et al.*, published in the *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, IV, 67-126. Also published in the *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture*, (Columbus, 1878).

[8] 1 U. S. L., 474

[9] *Henning's Virginia Statutes*, XIII, 19.

manent river, which constitutes that boundary; and the mind will find itself embarrassed with insurmountable difficulties in attempting to draw any other line than the low water mark.

Continuing, the Chief Justice distinguished between a river and a shore. "The shores of a river," he wrote, "border on the water's edge. If, therefore, you have a boundary by the river, it is a water line of division, if by the shore, it is a land boundary."[10]

One would think that this decision of the supreme tribunal had settled the boundary question. But it had not. And conflicting claims of jurisdiction over the Ohio River continued to be advanced, although, to be sure, Ohio grasped the "low-water mark" interpretation and held to it.

This attitude of Ohio is clearly seen in the case of *Lessee of Blanchard vs. Porter et al*, which came before the Ohio state supreme court in 1841. Land lying between high and low-water mark on the Ohio side had been leased as public land, and the proprietor whose land bounded on the river at that point brought a suit of ejectment. The state supreme court declared that such land was not common to the public as a part of the river but that it belonged to the adjacent proprietor.[11] In 1858 in another case, *John K. Booth and others vs. Benjamin Shepherd, Administrator of James G. Hubbard*, the supreme court of Ohio gave a similar decision. In this case, however, the court was more specific. It stated that the low-water mark on the Ohio side divided Ohio from Virginia and Kentucky.[12]

On the other hand, Virginia was not prepared to accept the dictum of John Marshall, for in 1845 the supreme court of that state disagreed in its interpretation of the actual *boundary*. The case in point was the *Commonwealth vs. Peter M. Garner and others*. The latter had been captured by Virginia police officers on the Ohio shore while encouraging fugitive slaves to escape from

[10] 5 Wheaton, 374 *et seq.*
[11] 11 Ohio Reports 138.
[12] 8 Ohio State Reports, 243.

Virginia. Fourteen justices sat on the Virginia bench and, although the majority of them accepted the Marshall dictum, no decision was reached. The defendants were dismissed upon their recognizance and no subsequent trial was ever held. It was in this trial that Samuel Vinton made his excellent defense speech.[13]

One result of this case, however, was the appointment of commissioners by Ohio and Virginia for the purpose of "settling the jurisdiction or boundary, or both, upon that part of the Ohio river which divides the States of Ohio and Virginia." The Ohio commission, composed of Thomas Ewing, John Brough, and James Collier, met the Virginia commission, composed of William C. Rives, William Green, and George W. Thompson, in Washington on January 10, 1848.

Like true statesmen the Ohio commissioners prepared themselves for the meeting and submitted to the Virginia delegation the five following propositions:

(1) That the middle thread of the Ohio river, where there is no island therein, shall be the boundary between the said States; and where there is an island or islands in said river, the middle of the channel on the Ohio side of such island or islands, shall be the boundary.

(2) That each State shall have exclusive jurisdiction over all her shore without the banks of said river at all times, and within the banks when the same shall not be covered with the waters of said river.

(3) That each State on its own shore, or the citizens thereof, may extend into the river but not so far, or in such manner, as to obstruct the navigation thereof — wharves, abutments, locks, slopes, warehouses, mills and other fixtures . . . and may project into the river pipes, pumps and other machinery for drawing water therefrom, all of which shall be within the exclusive jurisdiction of the state owning the shore; as also shall all boats, vessels, rafts and other water crafts of every kind attached to, or moored by the shore for the purpose of holding communication therewith.

(4) That with the above exceptions, the two States shall have concurrent jurisdiction over and upon the said river within its banks.

(5) That the said river within its banks, so far as it flows between the said States, shall be taken and deemed to be navigable water to all intents and purposes as if the tide ebbed and flowed therein.

[13] 3 Gratt, 655. See *ante*, footnote 7.

The Virginia commissioners, however, refused to accept *in toto* the propositions submitted by the Ohioans. The Virginians demanded that

> The dominion and jurisdiction of the State of Virginia retained under her deed of cession aforesaid, henceforth to be deemed and taken to extend under all circumstances, to the actual edge, for the time being, of the water within the banks of the Ohio river on the northwestern side of said river; and the same shall be in no matter diminished, impaired, impeded, or otherwise affected by any claims which the State of Ohio may have, by virtue of this compact or otherwise, to the soil which shall at any time be beneath the water in the said river.[14]

Thus, Virginia claimed that her jurisdiction extended to the high-water mark, or to the top of the bank on the northwestern side of the river.

It is strange that the Ohio commissioners did not mention the decision written by Chief Justice Marshall in 1820, although the Virginia commissioners paraded two decisions of the supreme court of Kentucky. In the case of *Church vs. Chambers* the Kentucky court had declared "the river Ohio from shore to shore" to be within the boundaries of Kentucky.[15] And in the case of *McFarland vs. McKnight* the Kentucky tribunal maintained that "the whole power, legislative, executive, and judicial belongs to the State of Kentucky, over the waters of the Ohio river to the northwestern shore or bank."[16]

The next effort to bring about a solution of the boundary question came in 1877. In that year the Fish Commission of Ohio, in its report concerning fish culture in the state, considered also the subject of the territory over which Ohio laws could be enforced. This involved the question of the boundary line between Ohio and West Virginia and between Ohio and Kentucky. The commission suggested that the legislatures of the three states appoint commissioners to fix the boundary line along the middle of the navigable channel of the Ohio River.[17]

Likewise, in his annual message to the Ohio legislature

---

[14] *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus), February 9, 1848.
[15] 3 Dana, 274.
[16] 3 B. Mon., 500.
[17] *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture*, 513.

in January, 1878, Governor Young commended the appointment of boundary commissioners to meet with such commissioners as might be appointed by West Virginia and Kentucky. The governor, in making this suggestion, stated that

> parties resident of West Virginia and of Kentucky habitually place seines across the mouths or outlets of Ohio streams near the Ohio side, in the season of the year when migratory fish are seeking the mouths of streams flowing into the Ohio river, thus preventing migratory fishes from ascending and depositing their spawn to restock said streams with food fishes.

Continuing, the governor stated that

> It is not charged that the residents of these States have, by their conduct, violated any law, for it is claimed for them, and the claim has been admitted as valid by the Supreme Court of Ohio in the case of Booth vs. Hubbard, 8 O.S.R., 243, that the boundary line of the State of Ohio, dividing us from these States, is low-water mark on the Ohio side.[18]

However, the only result of the governor's commendation was a joint resolution of the general assembly to print in pamphlet form the report of the Fish Commission.[19]

Returning to West Virginia, it will be seen that the supreme court of that State has adopted the "top of the bank" interpretation, although in its most recent case concerning the boundary, the court reverted to the "low water mark" decision of Marshall. The first such case, *Ravenswood vs. Fleming's*, came before the West Virginia court in 1883. In its decision the court declared that riparian owners hold titles to high-water mark on the Ohio shore but that they "hold titles only to the ordinary high water mark."[20]

The following year the supreme court of West Virginia, in the case of the *State vs. Plant*, likewise disagreed with Marshall. Plant had been arrested by West Virginia officers for selling liquor from a boat which was tied to the bank of the river on the Ohio side. At the time of the arrest the river was at high stage. The court in its decision

---

[18] *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus), January 8, 1878.
[19] *Laws of Ohio*, LXXV, 1191.
[20] 22 West Virginia Reports, 52; 46 American Reports, 485.

declared that the jurisdiction of West Virginia is co-extensive with the water of the Ohio River while confined within its banks. To prove its point the court defined a river:

> The most approved of these writers [on the laws of nations] defines a river to consist of the water, the bed and the banks. It is a compound idea; it cannot exist in the absence of any of its constituent parts. Deprive it of a bank, and it loses its character of a river.[21]

Several years later, in 1903, the West Virginia supreme court reversed itself in the case of the *State vs. Faudre.* In this case, West Virginia contested the right of Ohio to establish ferries on the Ohio River and to fix charges for the operation thereof from Ohio to the West Virginia shore. The court, in its decision, not only recognized Ohio's sovereign right to grant licenses to trans-river ferries but it specifically pointed out that it agreed with Marshall's dictum and that it disagreed with the decision in the case of the *State vs. Plant.*[22]

Nevertheless, West Virginia continues to claim that "The jurisdiction of West Virginia is co-extensive with the water of the Ohio river while confined within its banks."[23] And there the matter lies.

---

[21] 25 West Virginia Reports, 426; 52 American Reports, 211.
[22] 102 American State Reports, 930.
[23] *West Virginia Code of 1937* (Charlottesville, 1937), 1.

Excerpts from Swann's "Prison Life at Fort Delaware"

Edited by ELIZABETH COMETTI

Captain John S. Swann dictated his reminiscences of prison life at Fort Delaware nearly twenty-two years after his release from that dismal island, where he had been interned as a prisoner of war. Ordinarily a lapse of so many years would militate against the accuracy of a memoir. In the present instance, however, the intervening time only served to diminish the bitterness engendered by war and captivity and to demonstrate the futility of opening old wounds. Thus the account is singularly free from either a deliberate or an unconscious emphasis on personal wrongs and sufferings endured. By 1886 Captain Swann entertained nothing but contempt for the "bloody shirters," neither did he care one jot about evoking pity from the sympathetic reader. Time had so modified his perspective that the author was able to view his former prison as an unusual community where life was lived as normally as possible.

John S. Swann was born in Virginia on October 5, 1822. At the age of twenty-six he and a younger brother, Thomas S. Swann, began to practice law at Charleston, now West Virginia.[1] Land title litigation became the brothers' specialty and vast tracts of mineral and timber lands went through their hands during the years preceding the Civil War.[2] In this manner John S. Swann acquired a fund of information concerning the rich and varied resources of the Kanawha Valley. After his release from Fort Dela-

---

[1] *Confederate Military History,* ed. by Gen. Clement A. Evans (12 vols., Atlanta, 1899) II, 274. A record of Capt. Swann was prepared by the Graves Registration Survey, W.P.A.

[2] Charleston (W. Va.) *Daily Mail,* April 17, 1938.

ware he utilized this knowledge in preparing an elaborate topographical map of the coal fields in this region. Swann's *Title Map of the Great Kanawha Coalfields* was published at Charleston in 1867 and was attested as to its reliability by four prominent men of the community.[3] Undoubtedly the map supplied a real need, for no systematic geological survey of this region had heretofore been made.[4]

Politically Swann belonged to that group of trans-Allegheny Democrats who outshone many of their eastern brethren in professing loyalty for the "great Commonwealth of Washington." His position on the editorial staff of the *Kanawha Valley Star* afforded him an opportunity to publicize his ardent pro-Southern sympathies. After the John Brown raid he advocated the dissolution of economic ties with the North and the suppression of "seditious or treasonable sentiments" by teachers and preachers tainted with abolitionist leanings.[5] On December 2, 1859, Swann was elected captain of the Kanawha Sharp Shooters, one of those military companies provoked into existence by the affair at Harpers Ferry. The constitution of the Sharp Shooters did not mince words: ". . . when it becomes a union wherein either the liberty of the persons or the property of the people of this mother commonwealth devolves upon her own Sons alone and her Sister States of the South for protection the union is already at an end."[6]

In January 1860, Swann was appointed a delegate to the State Democratic Convention to be held at Richmond the following month.[7] Consistent with his general political beliefs, he was strongly in favor of Virginia's participation in the proposed Southern Conference and the *Star* devoted considerable space to the mission of C. G. Memminger.[8]

---

[3] They were L. Ruffner, S. A. Miller, Thos. L. Broun, Benj. H. Smith. See also *Kanawha Republican*, January 30, 1867.

[4] An act for the creation of a commission to make a geological and economic survey of West Virginia was passed on February 26, 1897. Virgil A. Lewis, *West Virginia Hand Book* (Charleston, 1904), p. 192-93.

[5] *Kanawha Valley Star*, December 26, 1859.

[6] *History of the Kanawha Sharp Shooters*, ms in West Virginia Department of Archives and History.

[7] *Kanawha Valley Star*, January 23, 1860.

[8] *Ibid.*, February 13, 20, 27, 1860.

Swann was indefatigable in laboring for his party. At a Kanawha County Democratic meeting on February 20, he helped draft a series of resolutions which in their boldness were tantamount to a warning against further northern aggression. One resolution stated that Virginia was "inseparably united by sympathy, interest and institutions with the Southern States of this confederacy" and that she must and would share their destiny.[9]

At the outbreak of hostilities it was only natural that Swann should throw in his lot with the Confederacy. In May, 1861, Lieutenant-Colonel John McCausland[10] ordered the Kanawha Sharp Shooters, still commanded by Swann, to encamp at Buffalo in Putnam County.[11] While there he was appointed a commissioner in charge of the poll on the ordinance of secession. As the *Star* asserted, everything must have been done in a "fair and orderly manner" for even this pro-Southern paper was forced to admit that many people of the county had voted for rejection.[12] Swann remained in the Confederate Army until his capture in September 1864, when Sheridan defeated Early at the battle of Winchester.[13] Following the war he returned to Charleston, where he resumed his law practice and made the geological investigations heretofore mentioned. Captain Swann died on December 5, 1902, from the effects of a severe cold.

The account of prison life at Fort Delaware suffers from the consequences of hurried composition. The first chapter is dated December 8, the second December 10, the third December 12; no dates are given for the remaining four chapters. Despite occasional corrections in Swann's own handwriting, the evidences of carelessness are numerous, if unimportant, and many passages are either irrelevant or repetitious. These latter have been deleted from the account which follows.

---

[9] *Ibid.*, February 27, 1860.

[10] Later General McCausland.

[11] *Kanawha Valley Star*, May 14, 1861.

[12] *Ibid.*, June 4, 1861.

[13] For reports of this battle see *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1893), Series I, XLIII, *passim*. H. A. Du Pont *The Campaign of 1864 in the Valley of Virginia* (New York, 1925), pp. 107-129. Includes maps.

CHAPTER ONE

FORT DELAWARE[14]

The prison was a parallelogram, a level area about twice as long as broad, traversed by ditches of sea water, some 4 feet wide, bounded on three sides by continuous rows of buildings made of plank nailed upright with an opening in the rear between the building and a building used as a Mess Hall. In the rear was another building some thirty feet from the main building, and in the rear of this a space, with a ditch of sea water passing through it; on each side of which was a space surrounded by a plank wall or partition, and washed by the bay, overlooked by a plank way on which the sentry was posted. This space was used by the prisoners, for cooking and washing; a plank bridge in rear of the Mess Hall built over the ditch lead to the resort of the prisoners, built over the waters of the bay, and also another return way over the same ditch. These buildings were divided by plank partitions, each from 60 to 80 feet long, and named and marked Divisions No. 1, 2 etc. On one side of this parallelogram, and separating it from a similar space, with the same style of building and occupied by the privates was a wall, or rather plank partition, some ten to fifteen feet high, along on the top of which was a plank way, where were posted, and where walked the Sentry. In each of these divisions were there rows of bunks the lower resting on the ground, and very damp. These bunks faced each other, being constructed along the sides with a passage some 6 to 8 feet wide between them, and in the midst a large Coal Stove. This Stove even when red hot owing to the openings between the upright planks, did not warm the Division, which was so cold that of a cold night, even those in a few feet, one could not sleep comfortably, while those 10 feet away could only sleep by catches, and the bulk of the prisoners crowded the stoves by turns all night, and most of the day in cold weather. We were allowed a blanket each, and but few had any more clothing than was on the person. We were furnished very little clothing by the officials.[15] What we had was mostly sent us by friends, or humane associations, in the North. Some of them private combinations acting through individuals. The prisoners necessarily suffered greatly from cold, and the worse clad would wrap their blankets around them and crowd the Stoves night and day sometimes producing difficulties among them, in their eagerness to get near the stove.

---

[14] The prison was on an island in the Delaware River. Although U. S. Commissary-General of Prisoners W. Hoffman pronounced the island "a very suitable place for the confinement of prisoners of war," medical inspectors thought otherwise. One of the latter wrote: ". . . this post is utterly unfit location for a prison much more for a hospital. Lying so low, its level being some six feet below high tide, it is impossible to properly drain it or to prevent its surface being constantly marshy and wet." W. Hoffman to E. M. Stanton, June 15, 1862, *O. R. Series* II, IV. 23: Report of A. M. Clark, Surgeon and Acting Medical Inspector Prisoners of War, *Ibid.*, VI, 516-18. The British pro-consul at Philadelphia went so far as to call the attention of the State Department to the unhealthy conditions at Fort Delaware. W. H. Seward to E. M. Stanton, Jan. 27, 1863, *Ibid.*, V, 216-17.

[15] Even George W. Ahl whose weekly reports were suspiciously favorable admitted that the prisoners were "too thinly clad." *Ibid.*, VIII, 143.

AN INCIDENT OF KINDNESS; THE HUMANE SOLDIERS

To illustrate, when I got to Fort Delaware I had on a Confederate suit. A bullet at the redoubt had deprived [it] of the only brass button by which I kept the coat buttoned; my clothing was made of cotton and wool worth then about $100.00 now about 50 cts. a yard. My shirt and drawers were of slazy cotton, my socks home knit wool, and I had a twilled silk pocket handkerchief, with the pictures of several of our distinguished men stamped on it some way. I suppose it was made in England. All that was furnished me while in prison was a grey undershirt half cotton, which was given me by a Sergeant, who occasionally came around with shirts of this sort on his arm. He gave it to me because he saw I was suffering from a cough, which eventually ended in Pleurisy, which I relieved, and I think cured by rubbing my side with some vinegar with Cayenne pepper in it.

Before I got a supply of clothing from a distinguished citizen, of Philadelphia, whom I knew before the war, (and whose honored son now fills a position of high trust, so well and worthily,)[16]—I suffered much from cold. This gentleman sent me a full suit of grey cloth, with flannel etc and a hat as soon as I wrote to him, accompanied with a letter that would have done credit to any father writing to a son, in distress. If I can find this letter it will appear in my next number,—and he thus relieved my bodily sufferings, and aroused in my heart emotions, that yet live, and can never die. I hesitated to write to him, fearing I might compromise him, until I found out how to write to a Northern man, without compromising him. I wrote to this friend and here was the way I got to write to him. I had neither money, paper nor postage stamps. So, I took off my woolen socks, washed them and tried to sell them, but could not find a purchaser at any price. I then put them on my feet, for my feet suffered very much from the cold. I then tried to sell my silk handkerchief, but could not. The weather was getting very cold, and I was suffering much from hunger as well as cold. After waiting sometime I concluded to run the risk, and try a sentinel. Passing a sentinel one day I opened the handkerchief so he could see it. Seeing him look at it, I returned passing him again, and said without pausing "this handkerchief for two postage stamps." He shook his head, and motioned me on. I concluded I would be sent for and humiliated or punished, for we were not allowed to speak to a sentinel. About a week afterwards while passing a sentinel, I felt something touch my hand, I closed my hand without pausing, went to my bunk, opened my hand and found 20 postage stamps, wrapped up in a very small space.

I thought to myself, "Now I am saved." Why should I and this man be seeking to take each other's blood? Why should these Christian people,

---

[16] Josiah Randall and his son Samuel Jackson Randall. A sketch of the former, who was a leading Philadelphia lawyer, may be found in *Encyclopedia of American Biography*, I, 405. For Samuel J. Randall, Congressman and Speaker of the House of Representatives, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 350. Josiah Randall spoke at Charleston on May 10, 1859. In this speech he praised the Buchanan administration and accused the American party of inconsistency in its stand regarding the Fugitive Slave Law and the Annexation of Cuba. *Kanawha Valley Star*, May 10, 1859.

animated with such holy feelings be at war with each other? It is unholy. It is all the result of a momentary passion which would have passed away without war or disunion, but for the fell determination of some few people in high places, to avail themselves of this momentary passion to inaugurate a bloody crusade for the emancipation of the blacks, which they durst not make known, and the equally fell purpose of some few others to make use of the same passion of the hour, to set up a separate Government, more congenial with their own fancies.

I returned to find the kind soldier with the handkerchief tied into a small bundle with a thread, passed by him, and made a motion to slip it into his hand. He shook his head and smiled, and I went on reflecting that among all Democratic peoples there is a gentle sympathy from man to man that controls and tempers all passions and rises like the dove from whatever stormy sea to bear the message of peace and fraternity. In the matter of scarcity of clothing, and suffering I have in my own case but illustrated the condition of the great body of the prisoners, some ten, or fifteen thousand at Fort Delaware, with this difference, that much the greater number of them, knew not, had not, where or how to supply their wants. Any other than an occasional garment from the Sergeant in charge, or from a fellow prisoner, while one who had money could buy from the sutler anything whatever whether clothes or food, but at enormous prices. I do not know what percentage of the prisoners died, or were sent to the hospital. Perhaps some one with the facility to get the facts, will make this known.

I would remark that much clothing etc. were sent to many of the prisoners by friends or acquaintances in the North, and by benevolent associations there. But the great body of them were nearly destitute of any comfort, and even of necessary food and clothing.

CHAPTER TWO

In my first number, I referd to a friend, a distinguished and venerable gentleman in Philadelphia, who sent me clothing etc at Ft Delaware. I here give some of his letters to me, as a matter of some interest to the young generation North and South who will enquire into the history of those heroic times.

Philadelphia Decr 4 1864

Dr Sir. Your letter of the 1st inst: reached me last evening. I am surprised and sincerly sorry you are so much afflicted. I have not forgotten the many happy hours we have past together. I am compelled to attend Doylestown Court tomorrow and shall return in the evening. I will go down to see you either on Tuesday or Wednesday. I am not acquainted personally with the officer who commands the station at Ft. Delaware. I believe his name is Genl. Shoff,[17] and if so all concurrant testimony says he is a kind and humane man. I will ask of him an interview with you and endeavor to make you as comfortable as possible. I will take with

[17]Brigadier-General Albin Schoepf, a Hungarian refugee, *The Photographic History of the Civil War*, ed. by Francis T. Miller (10 vols., New York, 1911) VII, 65.

me as many of the things you want as I can collect and the rest shall follow. If I find that I cannot see you when I go down I will write again. My son Bob desires to be remembered to you and you may depend on our doing all we can for you.

Yours truly
J Randall

Phila. Jany 27 1865

Dr Sir. I have sent by Adams Express a box containing the clothing you desire. My son Harry has superintended the whole affair. At this inclement season the receipt will be opportune. When peace shall be restored and we shall be once more a happy and united people I hope to see you and talk over all our former pleasant reminiscenses. I send the recpt. by express.

Yrs truly
J Randall

Philada: May 6 1865

Dr Sir

Your letter of the — ult: was received upon my return from New York. I shall be very glad to assist you in obtaining your release, But I do not think it possible to effect this object unless you are willing to take the oath of allegiance. Your friends at Richmond and at Kanawha C House[18] are taking the oath and I hope you are willing to do so. At the present time opposition to the Government has ceased and it now becomes the duty of every man in the South, to add his personal example in giving his adhesion to the old union as it was and I hope as it will remain forever. I trust you will receive these sentiments in the same spirit in which they are tendered. I desire to see you restored to your friends and family and once more occupied in the discharge of your professional duty. Your early answer is necessary if you wish me to move in this matter.

Yrs Truly
J Randall

PRISON LIFE, OUR FOOD

I will now resume my narrative in which the curious may find something to reflect on, the fanatic something to cavil about and the partisan something to doubt. As stated we reached the Fort at night. On the next morning I found myself very hungry. I was up early and walked around the prison grounds observing and hearing what I could. Presently a bell or something I forget what, gave the breakfast signal. We formed in line and marched to the mess hall, in which were several long rows of plank tables with pieces of bread and meat arranged along the sides at intervales of some two feet. When we were in place each prisoner took one ration. The bread was made of rye and wheat flour, well cooked, but the piece very small, about half enough for a well man. The meat a small chunk of beef. Occasionally all sinew or mostly bone. It was cut up very carelessly and very small, not half a ration. Some days the

[18] Now Charleston, West Virginia.

bread was substituted with crackers, and these were hard days on us. We were permitted to take these rations to our bunks. I ate mine but remained very hungry. When dinner came the same thing was repeated, except there was occasionally a tin cup of what was called corn soup very tasteless and insipid, with little or no grease.

By next day I was ravenously hungry and so continued as did all who had no money or tobacco, untill I got the means to buy from the sutler. No one can immagine the effect of continous hunger who has not experienced it, judging of others by its effects on me, and when it continues with no hopes of relief its effects are very demoralizing and the man is ready for almost anything. He thinks about eating all day and all sorts of devices to get food come into his mind. All night his dreams are most singular and sometimes facinating about food and feasting. Every thing he has ever eaten, dinner parties, suppers, girls bearing flowers and fruit, his boyhood scenes at hog killings such as frying liver etc. and whatever food he has ever seen or eaten comes vividly before his disturbed senses, and he sometimes awakens dazed and half conscious that it was but a dream. To illustrate. I was in Mobile in the early spring of 1862, and a number of little girls were around with trays with bunches of flowers, although I had left Virginia in a snow storm. This all came before me in a dream, and sudenly the bunches of flowers became loaves of bread. I grasped at the tray. It fell to the ground and the loaves rolled away like marbles. All this I underwent untill I got some money by the instrumentality of the twenty postage stamps given me by the kind sentinel. In talking with some of the prisoners, who like myself had no money, I found they were suffering very much as I was.

MURDER AND DANGER

After my first breakfast about 9 A.M. I walked along the plank way to the retreat built over the bay. (I will here remark there were plank ways around the prison bysected by other plank walk ways, made essential by the damp earth.) Crossing the bridge over the ditch to my right as I was returning the same way, the sentinel over the resort hailed "go to the right." I did not understand him at the moment and stopped. He repeated the order in a rough way. One of the prisoners passing pointed to the left plank way and said "go that way." This was on my right as I was returning. I returned to the prison yard and this prisoner coming up said, "You were in danger just now." I said "How?" "Why," said he, "Coln— was shot and killed where you were the other day for not coming out the left way promptly when ordered to do so." I said, "And what was done with the sentinel?" He replied, "He was promoted." The same thing I heard from others.[10] They said the Coln: was afflicted, I forget how, and was slow in obeying the order, and shot in the act of

[10] Col. E. Pope Jones, 109th Virginia Regiment, was mortally wounded by a sentry and died July 9, 1864. An inquiry was held at Headquarters and Private Douglas, the sentry, was exonerated from all blame. *O. R.*, Series II, VII, 452-54. See Special Order No. 157 in *ibid.*, p. 1256.

turning to go to the right.[20] I will say that going to the right was essential to prevent confusion.

Some days after, learning that two of my lieutenants were in the prison, I went to see them. I found them sitting together on a bunk, badly off for clothing and in a sad plight, dejected and quite as hungry as myself. One of them was writing in his diary, in which he wrote every day while in the army. I said, "Thomas, how did you manage to keep that diary?" He replied, "I concealed it in my bosum." "Well," said I, "Every man has his hobby, I expect you will take it with you into the world of spirits." He said, "I will hold on to it in this world any how." The other lieutenant, Snyder, said, "Captain if you will cut your bread into small pieces, put water on it and boil it, it will fill you up and you wont be so hungry." I said, "I have no pan and no wood to make a fire." He said, "I will borrow a pan for you, and you go down where they are cooking and somebody will let you put it over his fire."

PRISONERS COOKING

I got the pan, went where they were cooking and found several hundred prisoners, many of them cooking. They had made little holes in the ground, or set up bricks, over which they set their pots and pans. They cut pieces of plank, shingles etc. into shavings with which they kept up a blaze and I was surprised to see how much cooking was done in this way with a very small piece of plank. Some of them were making a sort of soup, by boiling their bread as I had come to do, some who had money or tobacco were making coffee or tea, frying fish, beef etc. or boiling vegetables, some were waiting like myself to get a chance to boil their bread. Some were standing by looking on, tantalized no doubt, but I never knew a prisoner to beg of another, while the great body of them, over 3,000 were in their quarters. I boiled my bread but found it only temporarily allaid the cravings of hunger. So after a few trials I stoped it. I will remark that many who had money often gave their rations to others, as well as their old clothes which was a great help to them. I one day enquired of my lieutenants for — Peal from Rush Cr Kanawha, a brave soldier who was captured with them. They said he was shot on the wharf, I forget where, by a negro soldier. That when the prisoners were landed he went aside a step or too, suffering very much with dysentary, that the guard, a negro, ordered him back into the line, but not rising up promptly he was shot and fell over dead. I said poor Peal was a brave soldier. He has left a widowed mother, his brother George was killed at the battle at the White Sulpher. He was the only man, when a volunteer was called for, that would go for a box of cartridges through the storm of bullets. He was returning with a box of cartridges, and in sight of our lines, when he fell and no one dared go to him. After dark he was found lying dead with the box of cartridges in his arms. I will remark I happened not long since to be talking about the way the Cols: was killed, as above stated, and some one in the com-

[20] A Confederate report states that Col. Jones was both lame and ill at the time he was shot. *Ibid.*, VIII, 342.

pany said, "I know that man, his name is ——— and he lives in a town in Ohio and every body shuns him."

RATS AND RAT EATING

On the raised plank walkway seperating the two prisons the sargeant or some other would often appear and call out, "Money or boxes." He would then, when the prisoners came around, give out the names listed and either give them a memorandum of what he had for them, or take them through the gateway etc. These calls were termed "Money calls or box calls" as the case might be. In the banks of the ditches and under the plank walkway were rat holes and numbers of rats. The sargeant or some one would come around often with a squad of men with force pumps and hose and rat tarriers, sticks etc. The hose would be put in the rat holes, the force pump applied and the rats would run out and be killed. Numbers were sometimes caught in this way. When money or boxes were to be delivered you could hear all over the prison yard "Money call or box call" (I will say comparatively fiew ever heard this call for themselves.) Not long after my arrival I heard a cry "Rat call! Rat call!" I went out to see what this meant. A number of prisoners were moving and some running up near the partition, over which a sargeant was standing and presently he began throwing rats down. The prisoners scrambled for the rats like school boys for apples, none but some of the most needy prisoners, and the needy were the large majority, would scramble for these rats. Of course but few were lucky enough to get a rat. The rats were cleaned, put in salt water a while and fried. Their flesh was tender and not unpleasant to the taste.

CHAPTER THREE

In proceeding with my narrative I shall endeavor to give matters and things as they occured or came to my knowledge. I will remark, whether this be characteristic of the Southern people, of the nature of man in prison, of the effects of long continued hunger, I do not know, but perhaps the latter; for I observed that the general bearing of those who were able to buy food and clothing from the sutler, was very diferent from that of those in want, in this: that the one class was comparatively gay, the other sad and retreating; I say I will remark that the prisoners did not become generally acquainted nor did they share much in general social communications.

SOCIETY IN PRISON

We associated together very much as neighboring people, from small localities, meeting together in a Town or City, in small companies. The city and town people companionated, the country boys companionated, as a constancy in these little associations. The Virginians companionated as a whole, so the Kentuckyians, Carolinians and Marylanders, and more or less those from the cotton states together, as a whole. I thought I observed in these peculiarities the germs of that future which points to a time, it may be in the distance, when the cotton states, as they are

called may become a seperate and independent confederacy. So with the border states etc. And I have no doubt the same thing occured in the Southern prisons as between the Eastern, Middle, Western and Trans Mississippi States. So true it is that there are natural causes slowly but continuously at work, forming types of thought and sympathies, shaping the destiny of man and peoples, and in the end overriding all laws of force, all the schemes and plans of individual or local interests, however and by whatsoever cause prompted. Whether the lust of Empire, of trade, of avarice, of national power and glory and therefore to keep up and maintain a common Government, can only be done by a wise and forbearing conservatism, and general and supreme justice to all.

From this cause I have no doubt there were many occurances that did not come to my knowledge, while whatever effected the occupants of a "Division" would become known to all in that "Division" something like national matters and matters more particularly effecting each particular state. As an incident in illustration there was a celebrated debate in prison on a matter greatly interesting us, hereafter to be related, in which was debated with power, zeal and eloquence the whole question of State sovereignty and centralization. We in our insanity, if the Northern people choose so to term it, immagining that each "Division" was sovereign and when acting together by delegates, as was done on that occasion, they as a whole could not dictate to any one "Division," which resulted first at a threat of nulification, and next of secession etc. and came very near resulting in a serious disturbance and would have no doubt done so but for the blue uniforms and bayonets ever staring us in the face.

PRISON INSPECTION AND SOME OTHER THINGS

We had in prison no regulations prohibiting the sutler, his name was Emory, from selling us stationary. We learned he was prohibited from selling anything else. I found this out in this way. After getting some money I went every day or so to the sutlers, his stand fronted on the most frequented plank walk way, to get such things as I needed. One morning I called in and found nothing in the room but a pine table, and pens, paper etc. around. Shelves etc. all gone, not a trace of what was there the day before, and the sutler looking as innocent as a young girl in the parlor with her lover when the old man comes in. I spoke to the sutler but he only shook his head. I went away and asked the reason of a fellow prisoner whom I had seen buying there. He said, "The inspector will be around to-morrow. The sutler and officials always get notice beforehand and they prepair to satisfy him that all is going on according to the regulations. You haven't got the ropes yet, I went there yesterday and got three days supplies." I said, "I suppose you had a wink." He replied, "Yes Emory is a good follow."

The next day the inspector came around with some officials and others, a sleik, polite looking man, who seemed to feel that his bearing must be to correspond with the dignity of his position, but I must say it was generally believed that he, and others and the sutler were in accord. He

walked around and was treated with great distinction by those in his company. But he did not converse with a prisoner, nor did one of us approach him as I observed. Our "Division" had been cleaned up, whitewashed, and all things were in order. A good many of the well fed and well clothed prisoners were around in the prison grounds enjoying them selves. The inspector would pause and look at them. But the destitute multitude were on their bunks or in their "Division" in their gloom and sadness, many wraped in their blankets sick and suffering. These he did not further inspect than to look in at the doors of some of the "Divisions" for a moment.

OCCUPATION AND EMPLOYMENT OF THE PRISONERS

We had among us commission merchants, who sold for us whatever we could spair, to get means to buy from the sutler. Auctioneers who sold as a last resort for any price, taylors busy making and mending clothes, shoe makers, making and mending shoes, cloth and leather was sold to us in prison. Preachers for those religiously inclined. Prayer meetings, beer makers who kept restorants. We were freely furnished with bibles, religious tracts, books etc. from the religious societies in the North. . . . . .

We had all sorts of schools, some primary, the attendants often paying a little something to the teachers. We had debating societies where all sorts of questions were discussed sometimes with great force, and essays and poetic compositions were read, some of high order. There as every where the orator was the champion. Among us were many Northern men, some of them but a short time resident in the South.

GAMBLING IN THE PRISON

We had card playing, rolette, Reno, farro etc. I knew a young man with whom the passion for gambling was so great, that he lost all the money he got while in prison a few days after he received it. He was nearly naked and had suffered greatly from hunger and cold, and a brother had managed to send a considerable sum of money, and so with others. So true it is that we cannot help or save those addicted to this or other bad habits, we may destroy ourselves in the effort, we cannot save them. The gamblers and black legs brought great misery on many of young and inexperienced boys, thus no doubt sending many to desease and death for wheresoever man is, there too is the tempter and destroyer. "Have I not chosen you twelve and one of you is a devil."

THE FARRO BUNK

I said to a friend one cold night. Let us go to "Division No——" and see the farro game. It is near midnight but we will go and see. We enter the door, darkness profound. No lights after 9 P. M. We pause and listen. We hear the weary hungry soldiers breathing heavily, some snoring. some muttering in their restless sleep. One in his dreams is in battle, he gives a quick yell, or half yell up yonder in his bunk. Another in fancy

with his wife and little ones (many were such dreams) at his cabin away in the mountains or by running stream. This was my first visit. As we stood listening and looking we heard one sleeper exclaim, "Mary, oh my baby" and then all was still. We stood listening and perfectly still.

"Thoughts upon thoughts a countless throng
Came chasing countless thoughts along."

I looked at my companion, he said not a word. Presently a light, or rather gleam of light, flashed for a moment, away down at the end of the long passage between the bunks. I said, "Yonder is that hell." We approached softly. We did not want to awaken the sleeping soldiers. On the middle row of bunks, hung around with dirty blankets, our blankets had all become very dirty, extending across the "Division" we heard in a low voice "All ready." We tapped softly. Instantly a blanket was thrown over the light, and all was dark. We entered. "Go ahead boys we are not the sentinel." The candle was lighted. The cards arranged and the game went on. The bets were very small. But 10c there was equal to $10.00 in the world of sunshine and hope. We remained a while and went back to our bunks.

I will remark that we all knew the guard was ordered to fire into any bunk where light was burning at a given time after the signal for "lights out." Yet here were 15 or more otherwise noble men, given up to an insane passion under which they were risking desease and death, for money was life with them, as well as a bullet from the guard. This order for shooting into a bunk was altogether proper for otherwise we could not have had our sleep, from the annoyance of light and talk and games. For it will be found that in every company of men there are some, so depraved as to be utterly indifferent to the rights of others, even their right to their hours of rest and to that quiet so essential to the wearied body and mind. Such persons ought to be shot. We also played chess and backgammon, but not many could do so from the want of means to get the boards etc. But the greater number had but little inclination to any amusements. The result I think of prison life as it was.

INCIDENT OF TORTURE

An incident of torture occured about this time in which an adjutant was the sufferer. This youth was in my "Division" and from Stanton Virginia, where he is now living. We were allowd to send out letters without limit by putting them in the box prepaird for the purpose, for inspection.[21] It was generally known among us that no letter would be mailed, that had anything in it disrespectful to the Government, or in any wise criticising anything pertaining to the prison, or to our treatment. Therefore many in their letters spoke in complimentary terms of what was going on in prison, thinking thereby to make more certain the mailing of their letters, for it was by letters we got money etc. The sentinels were forbidden to bring to us or take out anything — letter or whatnot. This was altogether proper. This adjutant in some

[21] According to two special orders issued in August 1864, the prisoners at Fort Delaware were limited in their letters to ten lines. None could be sent except to members of the immediate family. *Ibid.*, VII, 809-811.

way got into correspondence with a friend (perhaps a fair maid) in Philadelphia, who was enthusiastic and perhaps tenderly so, in sympathy with us and with the South, and it may have been with the young soldier. He in some way got a sentinel to aid him in a clandestine correspondence, in which each could express to the other every emotion, and their true opinions. The adjutant was sent for one day by the prison authorities, and did not return in a reasonable time. It got out in a day or so that he was undergoing humiliation and punishment for not disclosing the name of a sentinel who had mailed a letter for him to his friend. After his return to the Division, it was the general talk that he had been terribly punished. That he had been questioned for the name of the sentinel and refused to give it. That he was threatened with torture and still refused. That his arms were tied behind him and he was swung up by the cord until he fainted. That this was repeated untill it was found he would die before he would betray the name of the sentinel. That on his partial recovery from this torture, he was again threatened and refused to betray the sentinel. Was then put in the dungeon for some days, then in the hospital and finally returned to the prison. I have the information in a few days past on this matter, and I vouch for its truth.

CHAPTER FOUR

MECHANICAL WORK AND INGENUITY OF SOUTHERN PRISONERS[22]

Put the white man where you may and he will adapt himself to his condition. His pride, his ambition, his aspirations, his burning desires to rise, to make the most of his lot, at once calls into play his unbounded ingenuity, and had we been doomed to remain at Fort Delaware, and the means given us with no restrictions from the outside world we would have framed a constitution, and wise laws without a book to guide us, we would have become a manufacturing community. We would there have made a little Tyre of that island, and with wives and children to grow up, around us we would soon have had fleets of merchantmen.

It is a warm day in February — let us stroll around the prison yard. Yonder in the sunshine by that high long partition wall, sitting on folded blankets, or in Indian fashion, are hundreds of men; they are miserably clad; some with old blankets around them; they are, some of them, very much dejected, but they are very busy. Hunger and want and nakedness have nerved them to the exerting of their every ingenuity. They are working mostly with pocket knives, some badly worn; some with one blade left. They handle their knives deftly, and patiently. One has a muscle shell; it has beautiful tints, blue and gold, shaded into each other, and by him trinkets, trinkets partly finished, also gutta percha, another sea shell and horn or jet. He is making a miniature bird, a snake, or something, as natural as life. It is so small, that he can set several in a

[22] Compare this with Rev. George W. Nelson's narrative of his prison life printed in *Southern Historical Society Papers* (Richmond, 1876) I, 243-256. Rev. Nelson wrote: "Schools, debating clubs, and games of all kinds were in vogue. There were all kinds of shops. Shoemaker, black-smith, tailor, jeweler, storekeeper, were all found carrying on their respective business."

ring or breast pin, etc. Another has a lovely finger ring set with these little miniatures, with great skill; he is looking at it, proud of the work of his hand. He has been working on it several days. It is completed. He will sell it tomorrow, perhaps for a dollar to the sutler, or a fellow prisoner, or some one in blue uniform, and at once he buys something to eat, or sugar or coffee, and for the time he is a happy man. Another is making a bracelet set with little gems, or perhaps shaped like a serpent, the eyes made of little bits of shell, the head also of the same, or horn etc. You may clasp it on your hand and the head will meet the tail, and the serpent will be biting his tail. These shells and horn, and jet etc. are worked into all sorts of shapes, and make many little delicate beautiful trinkets. It is wonderful how such lovely things could be made with a pocket knife. Here is a ring with two miniature doves set in it with their bills together. They are making love, oh how gently! A young soldier comes along, he is well dressed, from Tennessee, he takes the ring, a strange light comes into his eyes, he is fascinated: "What is your price?" "One dollar." He pays it, takes the ring. "How long did it take you to make this?" "About three days." The man rises, walks quickly; presently he is seen returning to his division, with a large loaf of bread, and a little bundle. That day the ring goes off in a letter to the mail — to whom? Well, he would die before he would tell. There is another with a chain, link after link of varied shells and horn and jet. It is charming. There is another, by him, a tiny little toy, a finished wrist button. He is making another to match it. Another is making a bird, by my life, it is a humming bird with tinted wings and neck. It is perfect. He has been patiently working on it more than ten days. It is so small you can put it in a very small purse if you have one. He asks three dollars for it. Another has a breast pin. It is set with a silver quarter, beaten and polished as smooth as glass, and set in jet; On it is the coat of arms of Virginia, perfectly distinct, and in miniature letters "Sic semper Tyrannis." What is this designed for? It is Virginia in memory. What is your price? $3.00. I will take it. I suppose you are a Virginian? No, I was born in Massachusetts, came to Virginia a few years before the war. Are there many New England people in this prison? Oh, yes. Can't you beat these Virginians making trinkets? No. And so I might go on enumerating etc. etc. I will here remark that our trinkets were eagerly bought up by officials or others and by the sutler, as I have heard, and sold in the North at very high prices, as wonderful for Southern men to make, and there were many Northern born and Northern educated men, both officers and privates in our army and this prison. Some of them had been in the South but a short time before the war, and were of us in every thing.

Return of Prisoners that had been transferred to S. Carolina, and put under fire at Fort Sumpter in Charleston Harbor. Our mode of relieving their distress.[23]

---

[23] Rev. Nelson was one of the prisoners sent to South Carolina and back again to Fort Delaware. Concerning the condition of the returning prisoners Rev. Nelson wrote: "I had no idea what a miserable looking set of men we were until contrasted with the Fort Delaware prisoners — our old companions. I thought they were the fattest, best dressed set of men I had ever seen." *Ibid.*, p. 256.

A short time before I reached Fort Delaware, some of the prisoners perhaps four to six hundred had been sent to S. Carolina into Charleston Harbor, or near Fort Sumpter. I am not familiar with the geography of the place. It was generally said that when it was announced that some of them were to be transferred to that place, there was a general eagerness to go. It was represented that it was a paradise as compared to Fort Delaware. So eager were they to go and that they might be exchanged that many gave their watches, chains, rings etc. clandestinely to be put on the list to go. I do not now remember the time. But we heard one day they were to be brought back, and in a day or two they arrived.[24] The most miserable, dilapidated sorrowful set of men imaginable. They were suffering with scurvy, chronic diseases of the bowels, and other maladies. They could not eat the bread and beef on which we were fed, with some exceptions. Many had died. They, as all of us, had a horror of the prison hospital. We had a saying among us "All tracts go that way." Yet many of them as a necessity were sent to the hospital on landing. They craved raw Irish Potatoes, tea, coffee and onions. We appointed Committees to get subscriptions to aid them. Some gave tobacco; some clothing; some money. And these committees bought, and distributed to them things suited to their condition. But these things were so dear that our subscriptions were soon exhausted.

We then got permission to get up plays etc. for their relief and we were allowed the Mess Hall for the purpose. It was given out that many about the post, officials and others would attend, to aid us; In a very short time we were ready for the play. We improvised the necessary scenery, announced a play. The attendance was very large. Many outside of the prison attending. The play went off with great eclat. I think a play or so was composed. These plays and perhaps other amusements were kept up, and occasionally repeated until these unfortunates except those too far gone were relieved. Many of them however died. They said that while near Charleston they were sometimes put under fire, and greatly exposed to the burning sun, retaliatory, as was supposed — that they were starved almost to death, suffered from thirst etc. etc. That occasionally quantities of cucumbers from the brine were brought in which were greedily devoured, though greatly increasing their thirst. I sicken at the narrative. I give it as I heard it. Let us if possible draw a veil over these things of horror. The people are not responsible, and none but the political mountebank, will seek to make them so.

Large quantities of Tobacco received, mostly by the Virginians. A Philadelphia merchant proposes to buy it . . . His visit, meeting called. His speech and offer—our reply.

The Prison yard was in a hubbub. It was announced that a great number of boxes of tobacco were on hand, for distribution. "Box call" rang all over the prison. Here was life and hope. The weather was terrible, our sufferings great.

A tobacco-merchant from Philadelphia, as he said, was talking with the

[24] This was around the middle of March, 1865.

prisoners. Some one proposed to call a meeting. We were at the time in my division No 33, I think. A chairman was at once elected. The prisoner who had received the most tobacco, perhaps $175.00 worth — the millionaire so to speak was made chairman. He said to the merchant, "We are ready to hear you."

Gentlemen, said he, I am no speaker. I heard there was a large quantity of tobacco here, perhaps several thousand pounds. That it was for sale. I have had nothing to do with this war. I thought you might not know the market value and sell it for less than it's worth. So I got a permit to come in and buy it, if you wanted to sell. You may know as well as I that this untimely war may be over in a few weeks. Perhaps you are not as well posted as I am, for we, dealers in cotton and tobacco have means of information in such matters, unknown to the public. It is in the line of our business. Tobacco in view of this, is falling in the market, and if you hold on to it for a rise, you may be heavy losers. You will need money, when you are released and sent hime, which we, of my way of thinking, hope soon to see. Gentlemen, you are not as well provided for in the way of clothing as I hoped to see, and this is very sad and ought not to be so. Now I am no philanthropist but I could but note this sad fact, and I hope you will excuse me for the reference. I am here merely to trade with you as I live near by, and as a conscientious man to make you a fair offer, I have the money, gold if you prefer, allowing for the premium. It is going up every day, or I may. . .

"Come to the point," said a voice. "What will you give?"

As I was saying. . .

"Make your offer! Make your offer," from many voices, "How much a pound?"

Will you not let me explain a little more?

"No, no, no, no, your offer!"

Well gentlemen I will not take advantage of your distress, will bid a little over the market price, and take the risk. I will give fifty cents a pound for chewing tobacco and forty cents for smoking.

"I move we adjourn" — second the motion — a unanimous "aye" went up before the motion was put. And the merchant sneaked out. We know the tobacco was worth vastly more than the merchant had offered.

. . . . . .

The officers morning retreat was perhaps 300 yards from the Division in the northern side of the prison yard, and about 50 or so from those on the southern side. The weather being intensly cold, and many suffering from various disorders, without overcoats, and compelled to rise frequently at night, (there were some 3500 of us) in the dark and stormy nights, when even the sentinel could not remain out, used the prison grounds. Many others, who were under no such necessities, did the same. The result may be easily imagined. We appealed to the authorities several times, and they finally sent us word to appoint a commandant from ourselves, and take these matters, under our own government, and the authorities would enforce our discipline if necessary. This was very acceptable to those divisions which suffered most from the nuisance,

being far away from the retreat. Those prisoners near the retreat and but little annoyed, were satisfied with things as they were. They took no great interest in the matter, while some were violently opposed to the whole plan of self-government, while many individuals were likewise opposed as many thought for very capricious reasons. Some of these Divisions had very many more occupants than others. Under these circumstances, the Convention (for that is what we called it) was called, and the excitement from the conflict of opinions was high. Each Division sent one delegate. The Convention was convened in one of the largest Divisions, and it was crowded.

(Now I am giving these proceedings as they will illustrate what might be termed the inanity, but what was really the genius of the times and also showing the moral and political opinions of the confederate soldiers and their skill and ability in debate.) The first question raised was whether the Chairman should be elected *viva voce*, the delegates voting as a whole, or by Divisions, and if by Divisions, whether the vote of a delegate should be counted one, or according to the number in the Division. We appointed a temporary Chairman *viva voce* to hear and determine this controversy.

There were several speeches for and against. I will give the argument. It is instructive, and food for reflection, as illustrating the genius of the times. For one generation will make war and risk everything for that about which another generation will care not, nor ever consider. Such is man.

THE DEBATE

Mr. Chairman,

I consider sir, that the occasion that brings us together, in this dungeon of death and torture, is of great moment to us at least. That something must be done, and that at once. Though we be prisoners, and deprived of every right, yet a privilege has been granted us, by our keepers, to govern ourselves. He would have us take responsibilities more pertinent to himself. I care not to criticize his motives. But sir imprisoned here for the maintenance of a sacred right, I shall not abandon it here or elsewhere. That right sir is the equality of the States and their Sovereignty. We are here to determine, whether we will appoint a central head with unlimited powers, and if so appointed, how to be appointed. I sir, regard each Division as a Sovereign power, independent of every other, and therefore, the equal of every other, regardless of numbers. This, sir, is one of the principles that has been assailed by the Federal Government. It is a principle sacred to every friend of true liberty. For the defence of which we have breasted the storm of battle, and are now suffering here, death lurking wherever we move. My Division has a small population. It does not matter, sir. In the name of the principle for which we are fighting or rather starving I demand that my vote as a delegate be counted one. I come here in my representative character — the peer of any. I maintain this to be the true principle of liberty, and I will yield it no where. No, sir, not even in the walls of

a dungeon, nor to save that life which to one is nothing if I debase it by yielding the principle. A low murmur of applause followed this argument. Next speaker —

Mr. Chairman,

I have no question to make with our comrade who has addressed you, with so much power and force on the principles of State Sovereignty he has seen fit to raise, nor do I think it a matter of the slightest moment. But, sir, I am apprehensive from what I have learned that our purpose may be defeated, if we act on his principles in the organization of this convention. I will admit, if it will satisfy him, that each Division is a Sovereign community, with rights too sacred to be rudely assailed, much less violated. I regard the Sovereignty of the States as the jewel of a chaste maiden. If she yields to anything, all is lost, (murmurs of applause). Yes, Sir, I will admit that each Division is a Sovereign power, although neither has laws, a Governor or any pretense to Government whatever. It has in fact no single element of Sovereignty, or of whatever constitutes a community. It has, it is true, what is called a Chief of Divisions. But he holds a power, insignificant in the extreme, under a foreign Government, and really has no power worthy of the name, and therefore the Divisions do not rise even to the dignity of clans. I trust, sir, that State Sovereignty will not be invoked for discussion here. Here as a practical question, we need centralization of power in one head. You may give that head a council or Cabinet, pardon me Sir, for using these names in a matter so inappropriate. But Sir, in a proper field and on a proper occasion, every one here is willing to risk life and liberty, our very presence here is proof enough, in defence of State Sovereignty, secession or nullification, as against unwarranted and non-delegated central exercise of powers even though the smallest State should be the victim. But, sir, the Supreme Wisdom has made nothing without a head, nay, not even a worm or fly. And he who expects to govern or to guide anything, man or beast or creeping thing, without a head, will fail; and the thing, State or Empire, union or confederacy, bug or beast without a supreme head will be just as apt to go tail foremost as in any other direction. I do not mean this as ridicule. No, sir, my respect for my able comrade is too profound for that, but as a means to give this matter a practical direction, and bring us to a speedy and common sense conclusion: that we may act at once, and save ourselves from the terrible nuisance under which we are suffering. This produced merriment, and the solemnity of the argument on State Sovereignty gave way a little.

We then elected a President *viva voce*, who took the chair that is a broken tobacco box, which broke down and landed him flat. After he got up, and steadied the box, with a piece of rubbish, maybe a broken brick, a motion was made to proceed to business.

Gentlemen, said the Chairman, we all know the necessities that bring us here. The first order of business is to elect a Commandant of the prison, nominations are now in order. Nominations were made. "Gentlemen, the Convention in Committee of the whole is open for debate."

DEBATE

1st Speaker, Mr. President:

It is a matter of little consequence to me personally, what the Convention may do. I am here a delegate to represent my Division. I believe in State Sovereignty and the sovereignty of my community, except so far as they may concede a part of their sovereignty for the general good. My Division is opposed to this whole movement. Indeed I have reason to believe that Division will not submit to be governed by any Commandant you may elect. They, sir, will nullify your action. Or if I find you are determined to force upon them the government you propose, I will, in conformity to what I believe their wishes to be, secede from this Convention, and appeal to them for the approval of my action and they may appeal to the authorities not to enforce any orders or penalties of the Commandant you may elect; I have good reason to believe there are some other Divisions that may do the same. We claim this as a right. We do not think you will attempt to co-erce us for that would be the same sort of despotism as that we have been combatting on so many battle fields. It may be that some of the Divisions, are greatly annoyed by certain disorders, but better that than coercion on a sovereign Division, for not submitting to a form of Government distasteful and obnoxious to it. I, sir, in this matter am acting on a principle. Again, Sir, allow me to say that in very many cases our suffering comrades, half naked, with no overcoats, and thin blankets, and chilled from the want of food sufficient to keep up their vitality, cannot stand the exposure of walking 200 or 300 yards. Sometimes several times a night. We must try and find out other ways of correcting this nuisance, than their punishment — the poor unfortunates. And surely, sir, there is no man in this prison, for the vain distinction of the brief honors of being Commandant. Some people, I know, would do anything for a little brief authority. None such here, I trust. (This was a hit) Surely, Sir, no man here would be so cruel as to punish any one of us for any irregularity under these trying circumstances, or call on the Federal authorities to aid him in enforcing a penalty. What, Sir, we confederates to call on the authorities here to punish a diseased, half starved comrade, under such necessities as force him to do what he himself is mortified to be obliged to — Never, Sir, Never. (Sensation)

Next Speaker —

Mr. President, Sir, I as another has so well said, regret that State Sovereignty has been so untimely invoked in this discussion. It is wholly inapplicable and inappropriate. If any gentleman in his representative capacity chooses to resort to such an argument, to defeat a measure dictated, when you look at it rightly, by humanity, I must say his constituents have not looked at the matter well or wisely. While I am a secessionist, as well as a nullifier, I was not so for frivolous causes, or rather I should say, for what I so consider. Nor, Sir, do I think we alone are the champions, so to say, of this doctrine. I, Sir, will say, that all and every one of the States, even in the North, would if the provocation

was sufficient, resort to Secession, or even nullification. It is in the very nature of a Confederate community. Why, Sir, there was secession between Abraham and Lot. They were too wise to fight. Neither wished to prey on the other. The New England States were once getting ready to nullify or secede. And, Sir, if the Central powers at Washington, through Genl. Jackson had not ended the War of 1812 at the battle of New Orleans — if that war had been prolonged much longer, we have unmistakable cause to know those States would have seceded. Again, Sir, many, perhaps most of the free States, nullified the Fugitive Slave Law, though its constitutionality was not ever controverted. Under a change of conditions, you may have found the Northern States, the seceders, and the Southern States, the coercionists, and Old Time in his whims and changes may bring that about as his wheel goes on in its revolutions. Had we had the power, had we been preparing to force slavery on them, or had we elected a President, with avowed purpose, with a greater power to sustain us than they to defeat us in the Union, or for the purpose of robbing them, or in any wise making them unsafe or insecure, can any one doubt they would have seceded, and if invaded resisted arms for arms, or that we would have attempted to coerce them, had we been moved by self interest, or the lust of empire. Sir, permit me to say, this thing of nullification, secession, centralization, coercion, the glorious Union, and all that is at least nothing but a question of interests, or national pride, extent of empire. If we could have convinced the Northern people that our Secession, and confederacy would have been to their profit and advantage, I must be allowed to say, and I am not afraid to say it, though I believe they have listeners on the outside or in here in our midst, I must be allowed to say their fanatics, and abolitionists could not have raised an army strong enough to invade the South, and the negro, and so called slavery would not have been a quantity.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to act practically, and with all humanity. My comrade, I know him to be brave and devoted, does not seem to reflect that if one of us shall be brought to trial for committing a nuisance, and stated he was suffering from disease, that he would be excused and perhaps means taken for his relief. Even the want of clothing would be an accepted excuse. If our Commandant attempted to inflict a penalty on such a one, I would be for mobbing him under the very guns of the sentry. I apprehend nothing of the sort. Our object is to put restraints on those in comparative health, or so lazy or indifferent to the health and comforts of their comrades as to avail themselves of these dark nights to save them of a short walk. What, Sir, will be the condition of these prison-grounds to those of us who may survive to see another summer's heat, bringing up deadly gases. How many will die then of the remnant that may be left. Let us look at this matter more, and at State Sovereignty less, under all the circumstance, (murmurs of approval).

After some confusion we adjourned *sine die*. But the disorders increasing another Convention was called and after able and exciting debates, also adjourned *sine die*, and all, of our own accord remain under

the Federal authorities. Some days after a large tub was sent to each Division and the disorders were at an end.

So we were saved by a little humanity, and good sense, and by a very small thing.

Here is food for reflection, the same thing might have prevented our great conflict, and brought it to a happy issue and national unity. Of this perhaps hereafter.

West Virginians in the American Revolution

Assembled and Edited by ROSS B. JOHNSTON

The sources of this material are from the files of the Pension Office at Washington, from various county records, from notes of patriotic societies, principally the Daughters of the American Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, Sons of the Revolution, and from a large miscellaneous group of published and private sources. Corrections and additions to this list will receive the careful attention of the editor.

CLARKE, WILLIAM

Service—Virginia Va. No. 12347 No. W-6683

Born, Hominy (or Harmony) Ridge, Pennsylvania, 1760. Enlisted in the Revolutionary Army, Hampshire County, in the spring of 1778. Died July 23, 1841, Lewis County, Virginia. Served twelve months as a private under Captain Kirkpatrick, Eighth Regiment of the Virginia Line under General Scott. Later served three months under Captain James Neal in the militia of Virginia and took part in the Siege of Yorktown. Mentions Lieutenant Adrian Fisher and Ensign Thomas Douthet. Supporting claims by William Peterson, Abner Abbott, and John Raines. On August 8, 1798, married Barbara, daughter of Jacob Helmick, Randolph County, the Rev. Robert Marshall being the minister.

Soldier applied for pension in Lewis County, 1833, and received certificate the same year. The widow applied for pension, June 11, 1851. Her age was seventy-two in 1854, at which time she appears to have been living in Upshur County. She died August 30, 1855.

CLAYTON, ELISHA

Service—New Jersey Va. No. 12942 No. W-1145 and B.L.Wt.-26529

Enlisted, Monmouth County, New Jersey, and between 1776 and 1780 served two years under Captain J. Smook in Colonel Herd's New Jersey Regiment. Took part in the fighting at Long Island and Monmouth, and was captured and held prisoner in New York for nine months.

Married by Joseph Powell, October 15, 1793, Allegheny County, Maryland, to Elizabeth Little. Granted pension in Monongalia County, in 1833. Died March 31, 1845, and is buried at Baxter Cunningham's Cemetery, Marion County. The widow applied for a pension, March 5, 1846, in Marion County, which was granted. Bounty land warrants were also issued for 160 acres. Supporting claims were made by Elizabeth Dawson, daughter, and John Clayton, son, Sarah Cunningham, John D. Parker, and Milly Parker.

CLEGG, ALEXANDER

The grave of Alexander Clegg, a soldier in the Revolutionary Army, is in the cemetery at Olive Church, near Pentress, Monongalia County.

CLENDENIN, ALEXANDER

Alexander Clendenin served as private in Revolutionary Army. Born, 1754 and died, 1829. Buried in Mason County. Married Katherine Spencer. Children: George, wife, Margaret Lowe; Charles; John, wife, Sarah; Andrew, wife, Rebecca Edwards; Lucinda, husband, William Lewis; Julia, husband, Isaac Lemaster; Narcissus, died in infancy.

CLENDENIN, GEORGE (Colonel)

Colonel George Clendenin was an officer in the army of General Andrew Lewis in the Battle of Point Pleasant in 1774, and was an active figure in the Greenbrier and Great Kanawha valleys in pioneer days. He was County-Lieutenant of Greenbrier County and was influential in having Fort Lee built on the Great Kanawha at Charleston. He commanded it and became County-Lieutenant of Militia when Kanawha County was formed.

CLENDENIN, WILLIAM

William Clendenin, born 1758 and died 1828, was in the army of General Andrew Lewis which defeated the federated Indian tribes under Chief Cornstalk at Point Pleasant in 1774. He had an active military career during the Revolutionary and Indian War periods, and spent his declining years in Mason County.

CLINE, CONRAD

In June, 1818, Conrad Cline, a resident of Berkeley County, appeared before the Berkeley County court, and testified that he enlisted in the Continental service during the Revolutionary War in Pennsylvania near Reading, and continued in service until the Battle of Monmouth. In this engagement, he was attached to the Sixth Regiment under Colonel Harmar, and served the remainder of his enlistment under Captain Dungin in a regiment commanded by Colonel Hampden.

CLOAK, (GEORGE?) (Captain)

Captain Cloak (probably George Cloak who had a farm in Berkeley County, Virginia), commanded a company of Berkeley County militia during the Revolution.

COALTER (COLTER), SAMUEL (Lieutenant)

Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 19719 No. S-39352

Enlisted, Bucks (or Berks) County, Pennsylvania, January 2, 1776, and served as quartermaster sergeant in the Second and Third Pennsylvania Regiments of the Continental Line, and as lieutenant, after receiving his commission in 1777. Was wounded at Monmouth and unable to continue service as an officer. Again enlisted in 1778 or 1779 under Captain Irish as orderly sergeant. Marched to Virginia, and was there appointed superintendent of the State laboratory, where he served until 1783, when he was discharged by Colonel Davis.

Applied for pension, October 11, 1825, Botetourt County, Virginia. Wife's age, sixty, at that time. Pension granted, January 3, 1827. Supporting affidavits filed by David Jones, Douglas Ireby, Peter Bachelor, and Jacob Poitsel.

COBB (COBBS), FLEMING

Service—Virginia Indian Wars (1793) B.L.Wt. 83776

Cobb did not have a Revolutionary War record, but served under Captain William Clendenin, Captain Moses Mann, and Colonel George Clendenin in the Indian Wars, and had service with General Wayne. Married, January 10, 1796, to Sally Morris, by Reverend James Johnson, Baptist minister, Kanawha County, Virginia. Soldier died, January 10, 1846. Widow, aged eighty in 1855, received bounty land warrants of 160 acres under act of March, 1835.

COBURN, JONATHAN (Captain)

In pension application in Harrison County, Coburn stated that he entered the service of the United States in Monongalia County, Virginia, in the year 1777, as a captain in the Thirteenth Virginia Regulars under Colonel Thomas Gibson. He continued in service from August 2, 1777, to September 26, 1779, when he was discharged at Pittsburgh. He was in several skirmishes and engagements with the Indians. He was sixty-seven years old at the time he asked for a pension and was blind.

COCHRAN, JAMES (Ensign)

Service—Virginia Va. No. 7545 No. W-6743

Enlisted, October, 1776, as ensign in company of Captain D. Scott, Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, commanded by Colonel Russell, at West Augusta (Morgantown). He is supposed to have resigned his commission, the acceptance being signed by General Edward Hand at Fort Pitt, September 11, 1777, but the documents have been removed from claim file and are locked up in the Revolutionary War Section.

Soldier married at Morgantown, July 20, 1777; wife's name Temperance, name of minister, George Martin. Soldier applied for pension in Harrison County, in 1818, and it was issued the next year. Soldier's widow, aged sixty-one in 1821, applied for pension, January 31, 1837, which was likewise granted.

COCHRAN, NATHANIEL

Nathaniel Cochran was born of Irish parents, not far from Philadelphia, February 28, 1757. He moved to near Hagerstown, Maryland, while a boy, went to Virginia at the age of eighteen, and in 1776 enlisted in a Virginia company to serve as a soldier on the frontier. He was attached to the company of Captain James Booth, crossed the mountains, and settled in what is now Marion County, West Virginia. He was wounded and captured by the Indians in 1778 at the time that Captain Booth was killed. He is buried in the Willow Tree Cemetery, Marion County.

COCHRAN, SIMON (Sergeant)

An order of the Virginia Council Chamber, December 31, 1806, says

that Simon Cochran, sergeant, is entitled to land bounty for three years service in the Continental Line, Revolutionary Army. Cochran, of the State of Kentucky, but at that time of Morgantown, Monongalia County, appointed John Fairfax of Virginia as his attorney to obtain the warrants for his service.

COGER, PETER

Service—Virginia Va. No. 16648 No. S-10481

Born in Pennsylvania in 1753. In infancy came to Hawksbill, Shenandoah County, Virginia, and enlisted in the Revolutionary Army from Rockingham County. He served as a private in the company of Captain Ragan and Lieutenant Harrison in the regiment of Colonel Skillern, his service extending from 1777 to 1781. He was at Point Pleasant when Chief Cornstalk was killed. He applied for pension from Lewis County, Virginia, December 3, 1832, and in support of his claim are affidavits of John and Isaac Mace, Tunis McIlvane, and Robert Hamilton. He names a long list of Revolutionary officers with whom he had seen service.

COLE, JOHN

Applied for pension in Harrison County, but in 1834 it appears that John Cole resided in Baltimore County, Maryland. During the Revolutionary War he served on several short tours. Entire length of service uncertain. Claim was not allowed as he did not prove six months service in a regiment embodied in a military corps as was required by the pension laws.

COLE, JOSEPH

Drafted into the army in 1780 from Captain Davis' company of Berkeley County militia.

COLGATE, ASAPH

Service—Maryland Va. No. 15900 No. S-39341 and W.L.Wt. 63230

Served three years as a private under Captain Samdall of the Fourth Maryland Regiment, commanded by Colonel Hall and General Smallwood. Took part in the battles of Camden and Ninety-Six. Enlisted at Baltimore, Maryland, 1780, and applied for pension, July 27, 1818, Monongalia County, Virginia. Wife's name was Rosanna. Pension granted and also bounty land of 100 acres.

COLLINS, CHARLES

Private in Captain Shepherd's company. From Berkeley County. Died in prison, January 19, 1777.

COLLINS, GEORGE

Service—Virginia Va. No. 12647 No. S-8247

Served eighteen months in the infantry and six months in the cavalry under Captain Lewis and Colonel Morgan. Applied for pension in Lewis County. Certificate was issued, May 16, 1833.

COLLINS, JAMES

Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 23780 No. S-17895

Born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1761. Moved with parents while an infant to Louden County, Virginia. At age of twelve moved to Fayette County where he lived until 1796. Moved to Monongalia County where he was living in 1833.

Enlisted at Brownsville, Pennsylvania, in the summer of 1777, and served from six to nine months under Captain Jacob Springer, Isaac Pearce, John Beeson, Lieutenant John Dent, Colonel Gibson, Colonel Crawford, Colonel John Evans, and General McIntosh. Supporting claims made by Joseph Shackleford and Noah Ridgeway. Pension application was issued, April 4, 1834.

COMER, AUGUSTINE

Service—Virginia Va. No. 12550 No. W-18945

Enlisted, Shenandoah County, Virginia, Easter Monday, 1776, and served four and one-half years under Captain Langley, Twelfth Virginia Regiment, Continental Establishment, Colonel Neville, and General Scott. He took part in the fighting at Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, Stony Point, and Charleston, South Carolina. Pension application filed 1819 and issued same year. Claim supported by statements of Jacob Comer, John Comer, John Peters, Sally C. Peters, Elizabeth C. Miller, and Catherine C. Ball, of Logan County; Frederick Comer, Barbara Comer, and Michael Comer.

County court records of Shenandoah County show that Augustine Comer and Catherine (or Cortreen) Rush were lawfully married by "publishment given" April 23, 1782, or July 22, 1782. The widow, aged sixty in 1820, died April 11, 1841. Heirs filed claim in 1847 which was eventually paid.

COMMANS (CUMMINS), ROBERT

Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 3390 No. S-9259

Enlisted at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, February or March, 1777, and served seventeen months as a private under Captain Adams in the Pennsylvania Regiment under Colonel William Irwin or Irvine. From Carlisle, marched to New York, then went by water to Albany to Lake George and Ticonderoga, thence to St. Johns to Chambalee. At Three Rivers was under Colonel Irving and Lieutenant Colonel Hartley. Retreated under Colonel Hartley to a small lake in Canada, thence to Chambalee, to St. Johns, to Crown Point, and to Ticonderoga at which place the winter of 1776 was spent. In March, 1777, Captain Adams and three other members of his company were killed by the Indians.

Pension was applied for in 1832.

CONAWAY (Conway), JOHN SPANN

Born, October 16, 1762, Hampshire County, Virginia, the son of Thomas and Eleriah Conaway. Died, 1841, in Marion County, and is buried in the Katy Clelland cemetery.

Served from 1776 to 1782 as an Indian spy, enlisting in Bedford

County, Pennsylvania, under Captain McCall in Virginia and Pennsylvania detachments. He was married, 1780, near Bean's Cover, Bedford County, to Rachel Willison, who was born in Allegheny County, Maryland. Her parents were Jeremiah and Sarah Willison. Applied for pension in Harrison County, but soldier and wife died before claim was allowed. Supporting affidavits made by William McRae and Daniel Arnett, Harrison County, and Jonathan Mausley, Lewis County.

The Conaways settled in Marion County as early as 1819. Their children were as follows: Basil, born, 1781; died, April 29, 1854; married, first, Mary Crosby and moved to Perry County, Ohio; second wife, Sara, one daughter, Hannah. Charles, born, 1785; married his cousin, Elizabeth Conaway, daughter of Thomas Conaway. John, born, April 17, 1785; died, October 15, 1868; married Sarah Fleming, daughter of Alexander, son of Matthew Fleming, Sr.; John married Hannah Randall as his second wife. John was known as "Big" John. Jeremiah married Sarah Hunter. Nancy married a Crosby and moved to Ohio. Sarah married a Ruby and moved to Ohio. Rachel died young. Mary married Joab Fleming. Hester, born, September 10, 1810; died June 30, 1894; married George W. Clelland. A daughter, Rachel, was living at a recent date—a real granddaughter of a soldier of the Revolution. Byrum died young. William Willison, born 1805, died, June 8, 1851; married Thoda Hendrick. After his death, his widow married James Everly, born, 1793, died October 17, 1862. He was a soldier in the War of 1812, a private in James Hurry's company from Monongalia County.

CONAWAY (CONWAY), THOMAS (Lieutenant)

Born, March 1, 1755, Hampshire County, Virginia, the son of Thomas Conaway, Sr., and wife, Eleriah. Died February 14, 1824.

His pension application states that in 1776 he volunteered under Captain Higgins, Hampshire County, and marched to Beesontown, now Uniontown, and thence against the Indians on the Muskingum. He was out nine months before returning to Pittsburgh at Christmas. In 1779, he was drafted to take part in the expedition of General McIntosh during which Fort McIntosh was built. After his discharge he moved to Bedford County where he was ordered out in 1780 as an Indian spy under Captain McCall. Two companies under McCall, with another captain, were ambushed by the Indians and but sixteen men escaped. War Department records show that Conaway was a private in Captain John McGuire's company and was also designated as a lieutenant in Captain Thomas Bell's company of Colonel Grayson's Regiment, Continental troops. His enlistment date is given as April 5, 1777, later being transferred to the Regiment commanded by Colonel Nathaniel Gist.

On January 9, 1783, in Hampshire County, Virginia, Conaway married Sarah Dew (or Dhu), daughter of Samuel Dew, sheriff of Hampshire County, 1769, and wife, Joanna Park Dew. Their children were as follows: Jeremiah, born, 1785; died February 26, 1865; married Mary Brown; lived at Basnettsville, Marion County. Daniel, born April 28, 1789; died, October 17, 1884; married, first, Phoebe See, second, Maria

Straight; lived at Barracksville, Marion County. Samuel, married Eleanor Ice, of Ice's Ferry; buried in Adams graveyard, near Barracksville. "Little John" Conaway, born, February 14, 1805; died August 21, 1891; twice married, first to Esther Baker, 1826, and second to Millie Moore; buried in Hamilton Graveyard, near Rymer, Marion County. Eli, born, March 14, 1797; died June 13, 1851; married twice, first to Mary Baker, 1818, and second, to Parthena Ruffner; buried in Tyler County. Harvey, born, 1815; moved to Hughes River, Tyler County; buried at Alma. Polly, never married. Charles, no record. Sarah, married a Yost and moved to Ohio. Mary, married John Hoge, Allegheny County, Maryland. Elizabeth, married her cousin, Charles Conaway, son of John Conaway, and brother of Thomas Conaway, Jr.

CONGLETON, MOSES

Service—Pennsylvania Va. No. 5806 and 5466 No. W-4930—B.L.Wt. 26738

Born, October 4, 1763, Allen Township, Northampton or Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, the son of William and Mary Congleton. He died, November 6, 1838. With the consent of his parents, he enlisted at the age of thirteen as a musician in Captain John Hay's company of the Pennsylvania militia under Major James Boyd in Lieutenant Colonel John Liggett's regiment. The night of the battle of Trenton, he repaired the American camp fires in company with William Moffit while the American Army withdrew towards Princeton. He was taken to Crosswick and rejoined General Rytman's brigade, thence to Norristown where he remained until March, 1777, when he was discharged. He re-enlisted under Captain John Sriver, Major Boyd's Battalion, in Colonel Stephen Beallett's Regiment of Northampton County militia at Brandywine. After being attached to several other military units, he accompanied the troops under General Sullivan in 1779 in an expedition against the Six Nations. He was discharged by Colonel Nicholas Kearns, 1781, after more than two years service.

He moved to Brooke County, Virginia, in 1794 and there was granted a pension and also bounty land warrant for 160 acres. His wife, Mary Grimes, daughter of Thomas and Margaret Grimes, was born, September 20, 1763. They were married, May 18, 1788, Northampton County, Pennsylvania, and had the following children: Margaret, March 29, 1789; Mary, April 30, 1791; John, May 31, 1793; Marie (married Thomas Good), December, 1795; William and Juliana (twins), July 27, 1799; Thomas, January, 1801. The children of Marie Congleton and Thomas Good were: Thomas, Elizabeth, Robert, Juliana, and Emily. Supporting affidavits were filed by Nicholas Headington, Sam Henderson, Elizabeth Patton, Sam M. Carty, and Robert Doak.

CONLEY, JOHN

Applied for pension in Giles County, Virginia (now Mercer), in 1840 for service in Indian wars in 1792 under Captains Preston and Crockett. Claim rejected. Supporting claims by Captain John Crockett, Oliver Winn, John Trollinger, John Rutter, and David Johnston.

CONROD (CONRAD), JACOB

Service—Virginia Va. No. 16531 No. S-39361

Enlisted in 1776 and served in the Revolutionary Army with the Ninth and Thirteenth Virginia Regiments in company of Captain Benjamin Harrison under Colonel Russell and Colonel John Gibson. Fought in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and was honorably discharged at Pittsburgh, July 25, 1783. Pension granted in 1820. Buried in Gilmer County on the right-hand prong of Dust Camp, about three miles from mouth of the stream.

CONWAY (Conaway), RICHARD

Service—Virginia Indiana No. 19365 No. S-16731 and B.L.Wt. 26414

Born in Queen Anne County, Maryland, 1762. Served as a private one year under Captain Neal and Captain Simmerel, Virginia Militia, under Colonel Helms and Colonel Cresap, in troops enlisting in Hampshire County in 1782. Supporting claims filed by Reverend Hugh Carrol, Miles Conaway, and Thomas Stanford in Henry County, Indiana, in November, 1832. Pension granted and also bounty land warrants for 160 acres.

COOK, JOHN

The Greenbrier County court in 1847 certified to the War Department that the declaration of Mary Cook and a certificate from James E. Heath, first auditor of the state, showing the settlement of John Cook for services in the Revolutionary War had been approved by the court. James Cary and George W. Rank subscribed to it.

In the same court in 1853 it was shown that John Cook, a Revolutionary soldier, died on June 3, 1836, and that Mary Cook, the wife and widow, applied for a pension as a resident of Greenbrier County. It was further stated that said Mary Cook remained the widow of John Cook and that John Cook, Nancy Church, Thomas Cook, Malinda Thompson, Elizabeth Nicely, Sarah Campbell, Lewis Cook, Jesse Cook, Andrew Cook, and Eli Cook are the children of John and Mary Cook.

COOK, THOMAS

Fifer in Captain Shepherd's company. Died July 1, 1777, after imprisonment.

COOK, ZACHARIAH

Before the Greenbrier County court in 1832, Zachariah Cook made affidavit that Land Warrant No. 4144 had been lost or mislaid, and a renewal of his warrant was ordered. The Land Office of the State of Kentucky had certified that Cook was entitled to 100 acres for service as a soldier in the Virginia Continental Line for three years.

COOKE, JOHN

Service—Virginia Va. No. 23208 No. W-1232—B.L.Wt. 11017

Born in London, England, 1754, and died in Logan County, Virginia, November 21, 1832. He was connected with Thomas Buford's company of Radford's Riflemen in Dunmore's War, and served in the Revolutionary Army, largely under General Daniel Morgan. He enlisted in Shenandoah

County, Virginia, in January, 1777, and served as a private in Captain Jonathan Langdon's, Abraham Hite's and George Werle's companies, in Colonel James Wood's Eighth and Twelfth Virginia regiment. He was in the battles of Monmouth and Stony Point. He was discharged, December 29, 1779.

He was married, June 28, 1813, in Monroe County, Virginia, to Ann Keatley. The marriage was proved by Polly Abbott and Francis Hendricks, residents of Monroe County. Pension was granted in 1832 and also bounty land warrant for 160 acres. He was the first permanent settler in Wyoming County. His grave is marked by D.A.R. and War Department.

COOKMAN, WILLIAM

In pension application, Lewis County, Virginia, July 4, 1734, Cookman stated that he was born in Northumberland County, Virginia, in 1760, and that he enlisted in 1781 in the company of Captain Kean and served two years and six months in the Revolutionary Army. His claim was not allowed.

COOKUS, MICHAEL

After serving in the Revolution, lived in Shepherdstown where he appears on the tax list in 1797.

COON, ANTHONY

Service—Virginia Va. No. 7496 No. S-9213

Enlisted in Monongalia County, Virginia, February 28, 1776, in Captain David Scott's company of the Thirteenth Regiment of Virginia Regulars, Continental Establishment, commanded by Colonel John Gibson. After three years service he was discharged at Pittsburgh. His pension application mentions supporting affidavit of James Arnold and James Cochran. In the Harrison County court records, are also filed the supporting affidavit of John Dent, formerly a lieutenant in the Thirteenth Regiment, and James Scott, a soldier in the same military unit.

His application for pension, filed in Harrison County in 1818, gave his age as seventy-two. His wife was aged sixty-four in 1826. Their children were Nancy Petit, a widow with three children; Rebecca, aged seven; Lylas, aged five; and Hezekiah, aged two; two sons, Abraham and Samuel. Pension certificates were issued in 1819 and 1832, and, after suspension for a time, pay was resumed in 1835.

COOPER, BARNABAS

Service—Virginia Va. No. 16438 No. S-9201

Served two years as private under Captain Elijah Martin, Virginia Line regiment, under Colonel Joseph Cabell and General George Rogers Clark. Served in Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, and Virginia. He was honorably discharged, August 11, 1781. He enlisted in Amherst County, Virginia, and applied for pension, August 20, 1832, Fayette County, Virginia. His certificate was issued, August 9, 1833.

COPLIN, BENJAMIN
Service—Virginia Va. No. 16692 No. S-10464
Born in Rockingham County, March 28, 1752, and settled in Harrison County, 1770. Enlisted in Harrison County and served two years as a private under Captain William Lowther, Jackson, and Carpenter, and saw frontier service at Nutters Fort, Powers Fort and forts on Simpson and Elk creeks. He applied for pension in Harrison County, June 18, 1833, and certificate was issued, September 16 of same year.

CORBIN, ANDERSON
Service—Virginia Va. No. 2361 No. W-6739 and B.L.Wt. 26456
Born, King George County, Virginia, about 1752; moved to Culpeper, Hampshire, and Harrison counties; died in Harrison County March 1, 1845. Enlisted, Hampshire County, 1781 and served until 1782, under Captain Isaac Parsons, and Captain Thomas Anderson, Colonel Edmondson, and General Muhlenberg in Virginia line regiments. Received pension and bounty land warrant for 160 acres. Claims supported by Joshua Martin, John Cottrill, Josina Gawthrop, and David Coplin.

Soldier was married, May 18, 1789, to Elizabeth Harris who was born in 1773. The minister was Reverend John Sousborough. Children of Anderson and Elizabeth Corbin were: Mary, October 30, 1790; Sarah, March 11, 1793; Nancy, May 22, 1795; Francis, November 2, 1798; Henry B., March 20, 1800; Elizabeth, October 18, 1802; Josanna, May 22, 1805; Benjamin, October 18, 1807; Edith, April 1, 1810; Anderson, March 15, 1813; O. P., September 6, 1816; and A. L., August 11, 1818.

COREY (CUREY), SAMUEL
Service—New Jersey Va. No. 16169 and 23681 No. S-9194
Born, January 9, 1763, Essex County, New Jersey. Enlisted November, 1777, under Captain Wood in the New Jersey militia regiment under Colonel Patter in General Stevenson's brigade. Served in campaigns through the Jerseys and New York. Applied for pension, January 28, 1833, Brooke County, Virginia, and certificate was issued July 13 of same year for eighteen months service.

CORNETT, JESSE
Service—Virginia Va. No. 16072 No. S-9193
Born, Henrico County, Virginia, 1762, and enlisted in same county in the Revolutionary Army. Served two years under Captain Prosser in Virginia Regiment commanded by Colonel Marshall. Mentions other officers as William Mosby, Samuel Price, William Price, John Brice, Marsdale Southall, and Pleasants Innis. Supporting claims by Mosley Pullium, Obadiah Griffin, J. Mosby, and Benjamin Sheppard. Pension was granted in 1833, upon application from Harrison County, Virginia.

COSGROVE, WILLIAM, SR.
Service—Virginia Va. No. 23921 No. S-19261
Applied for pension in Wood County, Virginia, December 17, 1833, claiming to have been born in Prince William County, Virgina, 1753, and to have served six months under Captain Rixy and Lieutenant Dearing,

Virginia Line, under Colonel Green, in guard duty during the Revolution on the Delaware River. Claim was supported by A. Samuels and William Cosgrove, Jr., his son. Certificate was issued, 1834, but pension was suspended, 1835.

COTTLE, DIDE

Before the Greenbrier County court, 1785, William Cottle produced sufficient proof that he was the heir at law of Dide Cottle, who had enlisted in the late war and who had been killed in that service. It was also certified that Elizabeth Cottle, mother of Dide Cottle, deceased, had proved to the same court that Dide had enlisted in the Continental Army in June, 1779, and that William Cottle, brother, is the lawful heir of said Dide Cottle.

COTTRILL, JOHN

Service—Virginia Va. No. 19376 No. S-39597

Enlisted, 1779, at the age of sixteen, in Hampshire County for a term of two years in Captain William Johnson's company in a Virginia line regiment, probably the Seventh Virginia. Marched to Winchester, there joined the command of Colonel Elias Edmonds, thence to Fredericksburg, Bowling Green, Richmond, and other points. Then marched south, joined Colonel Washington's regiment of cavalry, and was at the battle of Cowpens, Eutaw Springs, and at the Pine Tree. Re-enlisted in Captain William McGuire's company of artillery in Colonel Harrison's regiment. Marched north and joined the army under General Putnam, was in the Battle of Mud Island Fort, then returned to Virginia, and was at the capture of the British army at Yorktown, having served three years and nine months.

Soldier applied for pension, Harrison County, January 17, 1825. Certificate was issued same year but was later dropped and there is no evidence found of its restoration. Soldier died July 9, 1850. Widow was aged fifty-two in 1825. Their children were John, seventeen, Polly, eighteen, Elisha, fourteen, Barbara, twelve, William, ten. Supporting affidavits filed by Richard Cottrill, Nancy Williams, Edmond Cain, Elias Cottrill, Joseph Morris, and Ann Williams.

COTTRILL (COTTERALL or COTTRELL), THOMAS

Service—Virginia Va. No. 16588 No. S-8242

Born, Georges Creek, Pennsylvania, January 22, 1762. Enlisted, Monongalia County, February 18, 1779, and served as private under Captain Carpenter in the Virginia Line, Continental army. Applied for pension, Lewis County, 1833, and certificate was issued, but was dropped in 1835. Statements filed from Christopher Nutter, Rebecca Nutter, Henry Flesher, John Waggoner, Nicholas Carpenter, John Ragan, Sam Bonnet, and Colonel Copeland.

Book Reviews

FRANK R. STOCKTON, A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY, by Martin I. J. Griffin (University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp. vii, 178; $2.00)

Whether behind the designated one of two famous doors a ravenous tiger or a lovely lady awaited the young courtier who had dared loved a king's daughter is a question which has been considerably debated for the last several decades, and the name of Frank R. Stockton as the creator of this ingenious problem and the events which preceded it is still rather generally known. To certain fortunate readers Stockton is remembered also as the man who established on a canal boat the residence of a young couple, provided them with an unforgettable servant girl, Pomona, and a Boarder, and recorded the adventures that followed in one of the best humorous novels ever written in America. Beyond the recognition of his name as that of the author of "The Lady, or the Tiger?" and of *Rudder Grange*, the reader of our day, however, likely has no acquaintance with Frank R. Stockton. Those who have sought a knowledge of the man and his works, further than that to be obtained from the writings themselves (which are, of course, available in every library), have been disappointed. Yet Stockton's accomplishments as a writer and an editor were of enough consequence that a complete account of them should be preserved. Mr. Griffin's well-written, thoughtful critical biography supplies adequately and permanently what has been needed.

That Mr. Griffin's work is more critical than biographical is the result of the nature of his material. Stockton's life was as uninteresting as his fiction is entertaining. His existence seems to have been singularly void of the mishaps, the adventures, the temptations, and the bad habits which are the inheritance of most men. So peacefully, apparently, did this man's years pass that the lameness which he suffered for a lifetime and the severe eyestrain which afflicted his last thirty years are almost obscured. With remarkable quiet courage Stockton accepted and conquered these great afflictions; there is no evidence whatever in his writings of bitterness or complaint. Stockton's personality is not, on the evidence here presented, impressively attractive; now and then, however, the quiet charm of the man shines through his letters; and among his friends were Mark Twain, Richard Watson Gilder, and A. B. Frost.

Stockton's rebellion against the religiosity of his Methodist father, though manifested in no single dramatic episode, was one of the two most interesting phases of his life. The other was the period of his connection with *St. Nicholas Magazine;* in title as assistant editor, in actuality he edited the periodical during the years that it became established as one of the best American publications. The nature and importance of *St. Nicholas*, matters likely to be overlooked today, have been

excellently emphasized by Mr. Griffin. The reader is grateful, too, that for an instant during the *St. Nicholas* years the biographer is able to part the curtain of concealing fact and to present a glimpse of the Stockton his friends must have known. Mrs. Mary Mapes Dodge, editor in name of *St. Nicholas*, had forgotten a pair of rubbers which she had worn to the office. Stockton sent them to her, with the magazine's printed rejection slip on which there had been underlined: "Many articles must be returned for reasons which have no connection with their literary merit."

In 1878, at the age of forty-four, Stockton was compelled because of the condition of his eyes to leave the staff of *St. Nicholas*. In 1890 he was able to purchase in the outskirts of Morristown, New Jersey, a large and pleasant home. But the beauty of northeastern West Virginia and northern Virginia had always attracted him. In 1899, be bought Claymont, a magnificent place near Charles Town, West Virginia. At one time George Washington had owned the land on which Claymont stood; the original residence had been built by Bushrod Corbin Washington. Here, his biographer tells us, "Stockton was pleased to play one double role which he had always desired, that of the successful author and the gentleman farmer."

Mr. Griffin's account of Frank R. Stockton's life presents the picture of a hardworking, capable craftsman. It shows also Stockton as an expert dealer in literary wares: he seemed able to convert everything that touched his life into marketable matter; he had a sure sense of what the public wanted; he knew how to secure the best prices for his products.

The full, though commendably concise, discussion of Stockton's writings brings to the reader's attention the great quantity of his production and the good quality of a considerable body of his fiction. Mr. Griffin calls our attention also to Stockton's skill as a writer of fairy stories, particularly those (first published in *St. Nicholas*), collected in *The Floating Prince* emphasizing the author's desire that they should "be accepted for what they are—shrewd commentaries on human nature and human blindness."

Mr. Griffin's history of "The Lady, or the Tiger?" makes fascinating reading. For one thing, we learn that the title was not Stockton's, who had called his story "In the King's Arena," but was suggested by William Carey of the *Century* editorial staff. For another, the story almost ruined Stockton professionally; editors begged for his manuscripts, but returned them because they felt that the author had not submitted another "The Lady, or the Tiger?." Again, Mr. Griffin holds our attention with his ingenious contention that we can read from the story the author's conviction that behind the door was the tiger. This reviewer must disagree, however, with Mr. Griffin's statement of "its valid claim as one of the world's great short stories." "The Lady, or the Tiger?" is much more impressive in the telling than in the reading. It is a great idea, but not a work of art at all. Nor can it be agreed that the epilogue "raises the story above the level of the 'trick.'" These final paragraphs seem

merely to reflect Stockton's capacity—shared by many writers of his day—to indulge in rhetorical excessiveness.

The appraisal of Stockton's worth as a writer, of his special gifts and limitations, which Mr. Griffin offers, seems a sane and just one. Mr. Griffin assigns Stockton to the second group of the writers of his time, and there can be little argument about his right to this rank. Mr. Griffin does speak here and there of Stockton's "place" in American literature, and of various stories and novels as "permanent additions" to American literature. The biographer is thinking, this reviewer fears, in terms of what he feels are Stockton's deserts, rather than in terms of actualities.

A final word must be offered in commendation of Mr. Griffin's style and of the highly interesting manner in which he has presented his material. It may be remarked also that he has almost kept from his book the indications that it is a dissertation; the most notable exception is the unnecessary use of the explanatory footnote. In any other type of writing in the world the kind of matter which appears—very infrequently, it should be stated to the author's credit—at the bottom of the page in smaller type would have been included in the body of the text; it is a shame that this mark of the beast was not eradicated.

University of Mississippi DUDLEY R. HUTCHERSON

THE SOUTH TO POSTERITY: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE WRITING OF CONFEDERATE HISTORY, by Douglas Southall Freeman (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939. Pp. xvi, 235; $2.50)

Although the subtitle correctly emphasizes that this book is a history of historical writing, it is on the practical side a guide to Confederate historical literature. It is a book about books rather than a bibliography of the formal sort. Obligingly the author explains its immediate origin. While interest ran high in such very recent titles as Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With The Wind* and Clifford Dowdy's *Bugles Blow No More*, many pondered the question, "What shall I read next?" In his answer Dr. Freeman has produced a sizable work containing highly informing critical comment on many Confederate items. According to the author's estimate he has not covered a tenth of the field. In apportioning space, he states, he has favored "those books which . . . have the most enduring interest and possess those elements of conviction, of sincerity and of human appeal that have brought a new generation of Americans to an understanding of the Southern point of view."

Apparently intended for the general reader, this work has an important place on the historian's shelf. In fact the author has kept in mind the convenience of the serious student as well as the tastes of the insatiable reader. The arrangement is chronological and topical, the chapter headings for the most part figurative, but clear. That considerable body of venturesome material produced during the war years is fittingly grouped in a picturesque chapter entitled, "Punctuated by Gun-Fire"; those labored works of vindication which appeared so soon after the firing ceased are aptly headed, "Writing in the Ashes"; the first large crop of Lee books is simply labeled, "The Passing of the Great Captain"; and the fourth

grouping is "Controversy and Apologia," an enlightening commentary on the studied writings of important Confederate leaders. There is also "The Appeal to the Records," followed by the longest chapter in the book, "The War Through Women's Eyes." "The Later Foreign View" gets some emphasis, while "The Glamour Gathers" gives timely warning that distance lends enchantment to well-meaning memoirs and recollections.

The concluding chapter, one of the most stimulating, contains Dr. Freeman's recommendations on Volumes "Yet to be Written." To fill great gaps in Confederate military history he calls for comprehensive studies on the Army of the Tennessee, the Confederate service of supply, the Mining and Nitre Bureau, the Ordnance and the Quartermaster branches, the blockade, the Southern railroads, and the economics of farm management in war-time; he points the need of close study of war-time social psychology in the South and full treatment of women's part in the war; and he strongly urges the renewal of effort in the field of military biography.

The book is fully documented with footnotes grouped near the end of the volume. There is an extensive bibliography, and a satisfactory index. Typographical errors are few. Obviously the number of pages in the *Official Records* greatly exceeds 13,579 (p. 93), and Mrs. Chesnut's *Diary* begins in 1860 instead of 1869 (p. 124).

This is a superlative book. It explains not only the how and why of a particular work but it also gives a frank estimate of worth. Here indeed is a convenient slide rule for calculating precisely what is best in the Confederate field. The book places a new value on many a title and will without doubt fix new prices on many a dust covered volume.

West Virginia University — FESTUS P. SUMMERS

OLD GRIST MILLS OF HARRISON COUNTY, by Harvey W. Harmer. (Private published, 1940, Pp. 260; $2.50)

What has been the subject of a single chapter in the county histories of West Virginia of the past is subject matter for an entire volume when it is studied by Harvey W. Harmer, of Clarksburg. He is the author of a volume, *One Hundred and Fifty Years of Methodism in Clarksburg*, and his latest book is entitled *Old Grist Mills of Harrison County*. In contrast to the cursory method adopted by authors of such works in the past, Mr. Harmer shows how completely a subject may be covered. The amount of work necessary when a single subject is to be treated comprehensively is evidenced in this work.

Mr. Harmer devotes a chapter to each community. Starting with the earliest mill of which there is any record, he follows it and other mills, giving location, style, owners, millers, surroundings, and traditions connected with the mills. Further than that, he provides a brief sketch of every prominent man connected in any way with the mills, either as owner or as attorney, for it appears that there were many legal actions in connection with the history of some of the mills.

To follow the history of the mills in this thorough manner, required

a great amount of legal research. Mr. Harmer, being a lawyer, seems to have taken delight in studying the legal records of Harrison County and to have been unwilling to stop with what the ordinary investigator might have found; he has searched the records in their entirety rather than depended upon the indexes.

Mr. Harmer's work will be of great value to those who write of the history of Harrison County in the future, and while he disclaims perfection, the volume is likely to be as free from errors as it is possible to produce.

The descriptions of the old mills and incidents related in connection with them make the book interesting reading matter and the illustrations are numerous, being of mills with the exception of one portrait of Colonel Benjamin Wilson, one of the State's early settlers and the builder of one of the seventy some mills which are subjects of chapters.

Fairmont, West Virginia E. E. MEREDITH

STORIES AND VERSE OF WEST VIRGINIA, by Ella May Turner. (Mennonite Publishing House, Scottsdale, Pennsylvania. Pp. 679; $2.50)

Miss Turner's collections have been, from the first, recognized as the definitive anthologies of West Virginia literature. This latest and most comprehensive edition is longer than its 1925 predecessor by some one hundred and fifty pages and twenty-three authors, including Pearl Buck, John Peale Bishop, and Louise McNeill.

It is difficult for a West Virginian to judge with any degree of objectivity these assembled samples of the state's cultural aspirations. There are some pieces that have enjoyed tremendous popularity—"Ben Bolt" and "Florence Vane" (which in its time was hailed as something that Poe might have written had he possessed more talent); but, on the whole, the value of the poetry is decidedly more local than literary. As is the case with far more ambitious anthologies—the *Oxford Book of American Verse*, for one—the bulk of the earlier and perhaps too many of the later selections, lacking the stamina of genius, do not survive the obsolescence of their style—the endless circumlocution, the didactics, the limp gingerbread similies and above all the genteel tradition of being not very realistic and not very imaginative but very, very literary.

The writers of prose, less pretentious than the rhymesters, endure better. An outstanding selection is Rebecca Harding Davis' "Life in the Iron Mills." Behind the nineteenth century prolixity and moralizing there is a feeling of power; it is the more remarkable that so realistic a statement in fiction of the labor problem could even have been attempted in 1862, when the critics' idea of profound sociology was Little Eva jerked to Heaven on a guy rope.

Anne Royall's salty comments on the early Kanawha Valley salt workers, and Porte Crayon's "The Journey to Canaan" are as entertaining as the historical sketches by De Haas, Withers, and Lewis are informative. The short stories of Frank Stockton, Melville Davisson Post, and

Henry Sydnor Harrison are mildly diverting; the one by Margaret Prescott Montague, "England to America," a *tour de force* of understated Anglophilia which could probably have a profitable sale if revived in a gift edition for Bundles for Britain.

The gem of the addenda is, of course, Pearl Buck, who spent the first four months of her life in West Virginia, and who won a Nobel Prize for her Chinese peasant trilogy. Mrs. Buck is represented by a story of a flood on the Yangtze River. More native are the selections by John Peale Bishop, Stella Morgan, and Louise McNeill. Mr. Bishop is represented by an elliptical short story and a single short lyric, Mrs. Morgan by one of her characteristic accounts of inundations. From Miss McNeill's *Gauley Mountain*, which has received almost unanimous critical acclamation, are reprinted four *pastiches*: "Jacob Marlin and Stephen Sewell," "Church Raising," "Mountain Corn Song," and "Zeb Sage." There are two notable omissions from the modern gallery: Eleanor Chilton and Pare Lorentz.

Miss Turner's notes are better for biography than criticism. In her evaluations she is, one might say, almost too even-handed with her superlatives; but the student particularly interested in the lives of the West Virginia writers will find here no detail left unrecorded.

Charleston, West Virginia — ROGER A. YOUNG, JR.

THE BRITISH REGIME IN MICHIGAN AND THE OLD NORTHWEST, 1760-1796, by Nelson Vance Russell, Professor of American History, Carleton College (Northfield: Carleton College, 1939. Pp. xi, 302, $3.00)

This is an interesting book in several respects. Its 6x9x1¼ size, its dark blue cloth binding with gold lettered title on back and side, its fine quality of paper and excellent typography, makes one realize that the publishers have done a fine piece of work. In the Preface is found the very necessary information as to the purpose, scope and organization of the book, the usual information in respect to those persons, libraries, etc., to whom the author is indebted, and the interesting information that "most of the text was written some years ago, but has been revised to date" (June 30, 1939). It says that Chapter V ("Economic and Social Beginnings") was published, in somewhat different form, in the March, 1938, issue of the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society; and that Chapters VII ("Transportation and Naval Defense") and X ("The End of the Regime") were published by the University of Michigan.

There are ten chapters in the book. The author states that in his first two, or introductory, chapters, on "British Western Policy in Embryo" and "The Indian Uprising (Pontiac's Conspiracy) of 1763," and in his Chapters VIII ("Michigan and the American War of Independence") and IX ("Michigan and the Treaty of Paris") he has made "no serious effort... at original investigation." Nevertheless he has fortified his statements in these chapters with 108, 51, 229 and 71 footnotes respectively (and they are seemingly well documented and explanatory footnotes at that).

He has necessarily leaned heavily on the Canadian and British Archives, the New York Colonial Documents, and (also) the excellent Historical Collections of the (three) states of Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin.

It would have been clearer, however, when Professor Russell refers to Lord Edward Fitzmaurice's *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne*, 2 vols., (London, 1912), if he had referred to this work as the "new and revised edition" of that author's life of his illustrious ancestor, for it appeared first in London in 1875-76. Also, since he has drawn so heavily upon the contents of the William L. Clements Library, at the University of Michigan, it seems that he should have made reference in his Chapter II to that Library's much prized book, Thomas Mante's *History of the Late War in North America—including the Campaigns of 1763 and 1764 against His Majesty's Indian Enemies*, (London, 1772). Furthermore, in Chapter I, page 7, when he speaks of "an ephemeral attempt to cross the Appalachians" being made in 1671, by "a small party of Virginians," while his footnote cites us to Fernow's *The Ohio Valley in Colonial Days*, he should also have referred to Clarence W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood's *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674*, (Cleveland, 1912).

A glance at his Bibliography (17 pages), divided as it is into Manuscript Sources, Published Sources, and Secondary Material, impresses one favorably in respect to the quantity and quality of his research. Some of these items, however, are included within others; Professor Edward Channing's *History of the United States* embraces only six volumes instead of seven; and one notices some other sins of commission as well as omission. After the Bibliography he gives a one page list of British Officers Commanding at Detroit, 1760-1796, with the footnote explanation that "from the records available, it is impossible to determine the exact date when the commanding officers were at Detroit." Following this list is an eight page Index which checks up as fairly complete.

The five middle, or body, chapters describing and narrating conditions and events in "Michigan" during the British regime, present: (III) "The Administration of Michigan, 1763-1775"; (IV) "The Problems of Provincial Administration"; (V) "Economic and Social Beginnings"; (VI) "The French and British at Play"; and (VII) "Transportation and Naval Defense." They are sometimes a little confusing and tedious to read, for the author's style is none too sprightly, and his descriptions and narrations may unexpectedly overlap, or hop, skip and jump in their time sequences. But all these chapters, like the others mentioned, are very fully annotated and documented, and imply a very comprehensive study of, and an exhaustive research into the historical sources on, the field and period.

Some questioning light has been thrown upon the scholarship of Professor Russell, however, by two reviewers writing in *The American Historical Review*, Vols. XLIV and XLVI. Their criticisms are presented herewith for they seem to be very important.

In a 1937 volume of *University of Michigan Historical Essays*, edited by Professor A. E. R. Boak, one of the essays on "Transportation and Naval Defense in the Old Northwest during the British Regime, 1760-96"

was contributed by Professor Russell. Dr. Clarence E. Carter, in reviewing this volume in *The American Historical Review*, (XLIV, page 419, January, 1939), makes a statement which deserves direct quotation. He says: "The value of the volume is not enhanced, however, by the inclusion of Mr. Russell's essay, since the paper in question is strikingly similar to one published on the same subject some fourteen years ago by Milo M. Quaife, entitled "The Royal Navy of the Upper Lakes" (Burton Historical Collection Leaflet, Vol. II: No. 5, May, 1924). The same approach, the same sequence, and in many instances the same language is found in the two articles. Only about a dozen of the twenty-six pages of Russell's paper are entirely free from reliance upon Quaife's text with respect either to verbatim language or paraphrase. It is only fair to state, however, that Russell cites Quaife's article and that he adds some additional information and cites sources which were not available when Quaife wrote."

In the latest issue of *The American Historical Review* (XLVI, pp. 158-59, October, 1940), Professor A. L. Burt of the University of Minnesota reviews Nelson Vance Russell's present volume, *The British Regime in Michigan and the Old Northwest, 1760-1796.* His criticism is even more severe, when he says: "In his final chapter, 'The End of the Regime' —He has borrowed freely, this time without any acknowledgment, from my *Old Province of Quebec* (Minneapolis, 1933). Passage after passage, one of them almost a whole paragraph, is lifted with little change of wording. From this work, also, Mr. Russell has copied seven quotations of documents and has presented them as the result of his own research by copying also the references to the sources. But each time he has given himself away—for example, by copying the wrong supporting footnote." An author no doubt protests with justice at seeing his own brain-child kidnapped.

Objectively considered, however, Professor Russell's book looks well and reads well; and, though his scholarship may be exposed to severe criticism, yet the facts as presented should open more clearly to his readers the region, centering in Detroit, in its three decades and more of Anglo-Indian-French-Spanish-and "American" interrelationships;—even though not a single map of the area is included.

Marshall College A. CONN KLINGER

State History as Featured by the Press

MAGAZINES:

THE JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN HISTORY (August, 1940), *A Critical Analysis of Abolition Literature, 1830-1840*, by Henry H. Sims; Notes and Documents; *Pious Reading in Colonial Virginia*, by Louis B. Wright. (November, 1940), *The Civil War Restudied*, by J. G. Randall; *The Genesis of the Nation's Problem in the South*, by Paul H. Buck; *Imports of the Confederate Government from Europe and Mexico*, by William Diamond.

THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY (July, 1940), *William Byrd of Westover, An American Pepys*, by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tingling; *The Roots of the Tree of Liberty*, by Robert H. Rankin; *The Negro and the New Deal*, by Archibald Rutledge.

WILLIAM AND MARY QUARTERLY (July, 1940), *Buckingham Female Collegiate Institute*: part two, by William Shepard; *Historical Manuscripts in the Library of the College of William and Mary; Documents Relating to the Early History of the College of William and Mary and the Church in Virginia*, contributed by Herbert L. Ganter; *The Virginia Washingtons and the Manor of Newton Bromswald*, by S. H. Lee Washington; *An Index of Calverts (1664-1799)*, by John Bailey Calvert Nicklin.

NATIONAL HISTORICAL MAGAZINE (September, 1940), *The Howards of Virginia*, by Peggy McCall; *Act of Prophecy*, by Anne De Lacy. (October, 1940), *Golden Gifts: The Story of the Jubilee Projects*, by Annie Church Hightower (this article includes a description of the outdoor theater at Jackson's Mill, built by West Virginia D. A. R.); *The Fostering Mothers*, by Lida B. Earhart (relates to the Washingtons of Jefferson County). (November, 1940), *The American Scene in Poetry*, by Helen S. Johnson; *Painless History*, by Katherine Matthies.

THE VIRGINIA QUARTERLY REVIEW (Autumn, 1940), *Washington as the White Knight*, by Manning J. Dauer (A discussion of the new book, *George Washington*, by Stephenson and Dunn).

THE OHIO STATE ARCHEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL QUARTERLY (October-December, 1940), *Notes on Cholera in Southwestern Ohio*, by David A. Tucker, Jr., M. D. (Concerns Charleston and the Kanawha Valley).

THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW (October, 1940), *Manners and Humors of the American Frontier*, by Thomas G. Clark.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (October, 1940), *President Jefferson and His Successor*, by Roy J. Honeywell.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY (August, 1940), *Thaddeus Hyatt in Washington Jail*, by Edgar Longsdorf (relates to John Brown and the Harpers Ferry incident).

THE VIRGINIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY (October, 1940), *Some Jacobean Links Between America and the Orient*, by Boies Penrose; *A Crisis in Education*, 1834 (Washington College), by William D. Hoyt, Jr., cont.; *George Washington Custis Lee*, by James Lewis Howe. Documents: *William Byrd Title Book*, cont.; *Early Attempts to Teach Agriculture in Old Virginia*, by H. G. Good.

WEST VIRGINIA REVIEW (September, 1940), *The Old Sattes Mill*, by Lillian Winkler Belcher; *The Frankford Methodist Church*, by Ira S. Hull. (October, 1940), *"He Saw Sayles,"* by L. W. Bryce; *West Virginia's Historical Magazine*, by Robert Atkinson; *How National Defense Preparations Affect West Virginia*, by Earle L. Elmore; *Travel American*, by Virgil L. Flinn; *Morris Memorial Hospital*, by Frank Ball. (November, 1940), *History in West Virginia* (editorial); *Doctor Santa Claus*, by Frances Young Clay, (concerns Davis Child Shelter); *Marshall College: A History*, by James E. Allen; *West Virginia in Review*, by Eugenia R. Garrett; *In the Days of McGuffey*, by Montiville Morris Hansford; *Plenty of Spice: A Story about Anne Royall*, by Georgia Heaster; *The Business Man and the Farmer*, by Edward R. Trapnell; *The Cure Returns to Fashion*, by Byrne Bauer (relates to White Sulphur); *Travel American; Huntington's Chamber of Commerce Welcomes Members of S. E. A.*

NEWSPAPERS:

CHARLESTON DAILY MAIL, *Let's Visit Montgomery*, July 31; *Tyler Mountain Tavern Marks Era of Stagecoach in Valley*, by George W. Summers, August 4; *Historic Town of Cedar Grove*, by George Holbrook and Forest Hull, August 14; *Underground Railway Station for Slaves Standing near City*, by George W. Summers, August 18; *History of Renick Family and Renick Town told in Old Record—Written by Mr. Spotts, First Clerk of Greenbrier County*, by Rachel Tuckwiller, August 25; *Charleston once Received Credit for Tennyson's Poem, "Crossing the Bar,"* by George W. Summers, August 25; *Origin of the Name of Peters Mountain*, August 25; *"Friendly City" of St. Albans*, by George Holbrook, August 28; *Old Letter Shows Price Paid for Slaves before Civil War*, by Forest Hull, September 15; *Fearless Youths Once Spent Four Hours Exploring Cave on Edgewood Drive*, by George Summers, September 15; *Historical Sketch (and Pictures) of Chelyan, West Virginia*, by George Holbrook, September 11; *Men Believed Victims of War Face "Slayer" after 50 years*, by George Summers, September 23; *State Streams Once Supplied Boulders of Flint for Indians*, by J. W. Roach, September 23; *150th Pioneer In-*

fantry Unit History Traced Back to 1777, September 23; *Valley's Oldest Presbyterian Church Plans Centennial*, by George W. Summers, September 29; *David Ruffner Built Church Ending 100th Year at Malden*, October 6; *Charleston Horse Once Held World Record for Trotters*, by George W. Summers, October 6; *Ocean Vessels Once Carried Huge Cargoes on Ohio River*, by George W. Summers, October 13; *Full Page List, Sketch and Pictures of Pratt, West Virginia*, by George Holbrook, October 9; *Local Woman Recalls Riding Cow's Tail to Escape Panther*, by George W. Summers, October 20; *Widow of "West Virginia Hills" Composer Tells of Song, Story, Picture and Music*, October 27; *President McKinley's Assassin Was Kanawha City Watchman*, October 27; *Story of Kanawha Nail Plant, First Industry in Kanawha City*, October 27.

FAIRMONT TIMES, *Act Passed April 3, 1852, Dividing Marion County into 7 Districts; Commissioners' Districts, Voting Places Listed*, August 1; *Dedication of Markers to Memory of Soldiers of Revolution and War of 1812*, August 20; *Marker to be Unveiled at Site of Fort Harrison, 1774*, September 4; *100th Anniversary of Monongalia Baptist Church of McClellan, (Plum Run)*, September 8; *D. A. R. Unveils Marker at Grave of Captain John Dent in Old Baptist Cemetery Near Laurel Run*, September 21; *Fairmont Business Since 1900; Mannington Boom*, September 25; *Early Historical Sketch of the Founding of Fairmont*, October 1; *Thomas and Edward Cunningham Believed to have Settled on Bingaman Creek in 1773*, October 5; *Early Post Offices in West Virginia* (reprint from "WEST VIRGINIA HISTORY"), October 15; *E. E. M., Notes on McNeill's Rangers*, October 18; *Sketch of Waitman T. Willey*, October 29.

CLARKSBURG EXPONENT, *Oil First Found in West Virginia on Hughes River, by Bushrod Creel, in 1810*, by Victor McIntyre, August 2; *Christ Church of Shinnston Celebrates 99 Years of Activity*, August 4; *Soul Drivers and Slaves in Old Clarksburg*, by Victor McIntyre, August 25; *Engineer's Old Scrapbook Yields Interesting Story*, by Cordelia Moellendick, August 25; *Indian Atrocity on the West Fork*, by Victor McIntyre, September 1; *And They Say the Red Man Was Savage*, by Victor McIntyre, September 29; *Slaying of Chief's Son Brought War to Pioneers Who Settled Buckhannon*, by Charles William Roberts, September 29; *West Virginia Historical Society Organized at Charleston, October 5, 1940*, October 6; *Old Volume Gives Interesting Data on Clarksburg's Origin*, by Cordelia Moellendick, October 6; *Story of Lover's Leap*, by Cordelia Moellendick, October 6; *Cordelia Moellendick's Article on Pioneer Families of Harrison and Gilmer Counties*, October 13; *D. A. R. to Dedicate Outdoor Theatre at Jackson's Mill*, October 13; *Murder of White Woman by Indians on Hackers Creek Fort in Summer of 1778*, by Victor McIntyre, October 13; *Rev. Benjamin Knight's Carving, (150 years ago) Gave Doddridge County's "Horseshoe Knob" its Name*, October 20; *John Hacker, Colorful Pioneer*, by Victor McIntyre, October 25.

WHEELING NEWS-REGISTER, *Story of First Suspension Bridge from Wheeling to Island*, by John R. Blakeley, August 4; *Historical Sketches*,

by C. B. Allman, August 14-17; *Founding of Wheeling's Press*, by Huff E. Otto, September 22; *First Christian Church Will Celebrate 108th Anniversary*, October 5.

PARKERSBURG NEWS, *Explorers of Hughes River Famous as Indian Killers*, August 4; *Historical Records Lost in Wood County Courthouse Fire*, August 18; *Early History of Spencer Told by Cordelia Moellendick*, August 25; *History of Handmade Pottery in Parkersburg*, September 15; *Dr. Henry Spencer of Vienna (Wood County) Raised First Cotton Grown in this Part of the United States, in 1809*, September 22; *Rev. G. Goode, W. P. A. Research Supervisor Preparing History of Wyoming County*, September 23; *Retell Stirring Story of Buckhannon Hill*, October 14; *Historical Sketch of Lubeck, Once Thriving Town*, October 20.

MOUNDSVILLE ECHO, *Famous West Virginians*, by George W. Summers, August 9; *McCamic First Head of Historical Body*, October 7.

CLARKSBURG TELEGRAM, *Boothsville Baptists to Mark 100th Anniversary*, August 8; *Judson Baptist Church Opens 93rd Annual Meet*, August 13; *Clarksburg Baptist Church Founded in 1845 Holds Anniversary*, October 19; *West Virginia is Termed Birthplace of Oil and Gas Industry*, October 23.

WHEELING INTELLIGENCER, *Number Two Community in Marshall County is Rich in Early History*, August 14; *First Knox Mill Built in Middle Grave Creek in 1835 by James Knox*, August 30; *Christian Church at West Liberty Marks 111th Anniversary*, October 3; *Mt. Olivet Church Celebrates First Homecoming Since Founded in 1857*, October 26.

WESTON INDEPENDENT, *150th Annual Meeting of the Broad Run Baptist Association*, August 14; *First Sermon at Freemansburg Preached by John Davis in 1810*, September 25; *Picture of Late Reverend David Hall Unveiled in Hall's Chapel, Vandalia*, October 16.

PRESTON COUNTY JOURNAL, *Daniel Fortney Family Pioneer Settlers of America*, August 15 and August 22.

BRAXTON CENTRAL, *100th Anniversary of Otterbein Chapel, United Brethren (German Church) on Steer Creek*, August 16 and August 29.

POCAHONTAS TIMES, *Story of James B. Smith from Staunton, Virginia*, October 31.

CLAY COUNTY FREE PRESS, *History of Oil and Gas in Clay County*, by H. B. Davenport, September 12.

SHEPHERDSTOWN REGISTER, *Historic "Shannondale" Once Famed Summer Resort*, August 22; *I Rode With "Stonewall," Memoirs of Youngest Member of Jackson's Staff to be on Market, October 26*, October 1; *Why Was Shepherdstown Called Mecklenburg in 1762?* by Mrs. A. D. Kenamond, October 10; *Marker at James Rumsey Bridge Opened and Dedicated July 15, 1939*, October 10.

TYLER COUNTY JOURNAL, *Repairing of 120 Year Old Home Recalls Local History*, August 15.

GRANT COUNTY PRESS, *Sherr and Vicinity of the Past*, by John J. Idleman, August 22.

MONROE WATCHMAN, *Letter from Lieutenant John Tiffany Tells of Fighting at Chancellorsville*, August 22; *"Rowan House" Attracts Attention*, September 12.

BLUEFIELD TELEGRAPH, *Know Your City*, August 25; *Captain Scott's Letter Found Giving Camp Life Before Bull Run Battle*, September 15; *Writer Tells of Peterstown 136 Years Old*, October 6.

BECKLEY POST HERALD, *Old Seng Digger Gave Name to Beard's Fork*, August 28; *"Old Tug River," by Jess Lee Toler of Raleigh County to be Published*, September 11.

NICHOLAS CHRONICLE, *History of Early Highways in West Virginia up to 1921*, August 29; *Government Markers Erected on Graves of Lieutenant John Campbell and Quartermaster John Hamilton*, October 10.

MORGANTOWN POST, *University Enters New Phase of Education with Model Red School House where A. L. Wade Last Taught*, August 29; *Bill Boyles (of Morgantown) Writes Book of His Seven Years German Experiences "Caesars in Goose Step,"* September 16; *Frasure Writes War Debt Book*, September 16; *Ruffners Put Down First Oil Well in Nation*, October 23.

ST. ALBANS ADVERTISER, *Pioneer Edition Commemorating Fort Hackett*, August 29.

HUNTINGTON HERALD DISPATCH, *Mt. Moriah Community Once Known as Carpenter's Post Office*, September 6; *Cabell County's School System had Beginnings in the 1790's*, September 22; *Writer Discovers Romance of River in Packet Voyage*, October 6; *West Virginia Historical Society Organized at Charleston on October 5*, October 6; *Designer of State Seal was Frenchman*, October 13; *First Local Methodist Church Began Struggle in 1872*, October 21.

WESTON DEMOCRAT, *Bits of Lewis County History*, August 30, September 13, October 18, October 25.

WEBSTER REPUBLICAN, *R. L. Thompson Publishes History of Webster County*, September 4.

CHARLESTON GAZETTE, *Historic Simms Home*, September 8; *Lowell Fortress Home Held Off Indians in 1777*, September 15; *West Virginia Historical Society Organized in Charleston on October 5, 1940*, October 6.

BUCKHANNON RECORD, *Marker on Site of World's First 4-H Camp Dedicated at Elkwater in Randolph County*, September 15; *Rich Mountain, Important Battle-ground, Lacks Suitable Marker*, September 13; *Professor R. B. Hamric Publishes Book Helpful to College Freshmen*, October 4.

WEST VIRGINIA NEWS, *Historic Curry Home Noted for Distinguished Visitors*, September 19.

ELKINS INTER-MOUNTAIN, *History of Elkins to be Published by Sen. Herman G. Johnson*, October 1; *1890-1940, Edition of the Elkins Inter-Mountain*, October 1.

HINTON INDEPENDENT-HERALD, *Lights and Shadows of the Long Ago, Family Sketches of the Gooch and Fredeking Families*, by Shirley Donnelly, August 14.

SPIRIT OF JEFFERSON, *200th Anniversary of Old Christ Church at Bunker Hill*, September 25.

MINERAL DAILY NEWS, *Duel Fought Between Dr. Brown and Charles Vandiver Following Civil War is Recalled by Elderly Citizen*, October 23.

MORGAN MESSENGER, *153rd Anniversary Berkeley Springs Methodist Church*, September 26.

BRAXTON DEMOCRAT, *Raccoon Creek Schoolhouse, Built in 1879, Thought to be Oldest Building in County, Now Being Razed*, October 3.

STATE SENTINEL, *Charleston Firm is Author of Book on Bituminous Coal Mine Accounting*, October 2.

RALEIGH REGISTER, *Lovesick Frenchman Created West Virginia State Seal*, October 20.

SERIALS (CONTINUED)

THE MOUNTAINEER, *Ripley, West Virginia—Early History of Pioneer Days in Jackson County*, began February 16, 1939.

WHEELING NEWS-REGISTER, *Notes on Early History of Panhandle of Virginia*, began July 21.

GRAFTON SENTINEL, *A History of Taylor County*, began April 18, 1939.

THE MOOREFIELD EXAMINER, *The Old Timer*.

Recent Publications of Interest to West Virginians

Uncle Amos, Politician, by Phil Conley, West Virginia Publishing Company, Charleston, West Virginia, 1940.

American Studies in Honor of W. K. Boyd, by the members of the American Club of Duke University, Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, 1940. (Contains a chapter on Philip Pendleton Cooke.)

History of Prospect Valley, by Nettie Bartlett Cooper, Fairmont, West Virginia, 1940.

Edwin A. Alderman: A Biography, by Dumas Malone, Doubleday, Doran and Company, New York, 1940.

Council Fires on the Upper Ohio, by Randolph C. Downes, The University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1940.

Robert Dinwiddie: His Career in American Colonial Government and Westward Expansion, by Louis Knott Koontz, Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California, 1941.

Hill Doctor, by Hubert Skidmore, Doubleday Doran and Company, Inc., New York, 1940.

Catalogue of Topographical and Geologic Maps of Virginia, by Joseph K. Roberts and Robert D. Bloomer, The Dietz Press, Richmond, Virginia, 1939.

Stories and Verse of West Virginia, compiled and edited, with biographical sketches and bibliography, by Ella May Turner. Revised and Enlarged Edition. The Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1940.

The Federal Income Tax, by Roy G. Blakey and Gladys G. Blakey, Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1940.

Lewis and Clark: Linguistic Pioneers, by Elijah Harry Criswell, Columbia University Press, New York, 1940.

We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant, by Carl Wittke, Prentice Hall, New York, 1939.

Foreigners in the Confederacy, by Ella Lonn, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1940.

The Old Sweet Springs: Biography of a Spring, by Frances Logan, Roanoke, Virginia, 1940.

One Hundred Years at V. M. I., Volumes 3 and 4, by Colonel William Couper, Garrett and Massie, Inc., Richmond, Virginia, 1940.

Contributors

Henry C. Shetrone is the leading archaeologist of Ohio, as well as one of the recognized national authorities in this field. After attending Denison University, he became assistant in the Department of Archaeology of the Ohio State Museum, and later was its Curator of Archaeology. In 1928, Mr. Shetrone was appointed Director of the Ohio State Museum, which position he now holds. In 1933 the Ohio State University conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts for distinguished contributions to the science of archaeology. He is the author of *Mound Builders*, the *Indian in Ohio*, and other publications pertaining to archaeology and history.

Daniel C. Draper, for biographical sketch, see Volume I, page 161.

Festus P. Summers, for biographical sketch, see Volume I, page 82.

Dudley R. Hutcherson was born in Bluefield, West Virginia, and was educated at Emory and Henry College, (A.B.), and at the University of Virginia, (M.A. and Ph.D.). He is now Associate Professor of English at the University of Mississippi. The latest publication of Dr. Hutcherson is the *Complete College Composition*, of which he was one of the authors.

E. E. Meredith, a West Virginian, began historical writing in 1918, when a correspondent at Charleston for state newspapers, with "Bits of History," which was a continued feature for several years. He originated the "Do You Remember" column which he brought to the Fairmont Times seven years ago, and which he still conducts. Mr. Meredith is the Marion County representative on the Board of Directors of the West Virginia Historical Society.

Eugene O. Porter received his education in Ohio Schools, Ohio Wesleyan University, (A.B.), and the Ohio State University, (Ph.D.). He is now Assistant Professor of History at the Texas College of Mines and Metallurgy, a branch of the University of Texas. He is a frequent contributor to the Ohio Archaeological Review.

A. Conn Klinger is another graduate of the Ohio Wesleyan University. He took his higher degrees at the University of Wisconsin, (M.A. and Ph.D.), and, for good measure, had a further year of graduate work at Harvard University. He had an extensive, mid-West teaching career—Frankfort (Indiana) High School, Carlton College (Missouri), Simpson College (Iowa), and again the Ohio Wesleyan University—before coming to Marshall College. With the exception of an article on "Florentine Life in the Time of Dante," appearing in an early issue of *The Marshall Review*, Dr. Klinger says his published works all lie in the future.

Roger A. Young, Jr., is a West Virginian. He received a B.S. degree from Hampden-Sydney College in 1933, and has done graduate work at the University of Cincinnati, and at Georgetown University. He has published frequent articles in the *West Virginia Review*, and is a staff member of the West Virginia Department of Archives and History.

Elizabeth Cometti, for biographical sketch, see Volume I, page 162.

Editor's Page

This is the first issue of the magazine following the organization of a new West Virginia Historical Society, the outgrowth of a meeting of citizens of the State held in Charleston, October 5. Charles C. McCamic, of Wheeling, was elected the first president, Innis C. Davis, executive secretary, and J. C. Sanders, of Keyser, treasurer. These officials, in turn, are supported by district officials selected, not only for ability, but for residence in regions of importance in a coverage of the State.

Under ambitious leadership, such as is indicated, and in turn backed by an increasing interest on the part of the public, the future holds much for our State, its people, and the magazine dedicated to the field of preservation of our history. A program for the future will be the subject of later discussion.

Few places in our State are more attractive than the drives along the West Virginia side of the Ohio River. A turn in the road, perchance, discloses a magnificent panorama of the broad river, with the trees reaching down to the shore. Many sections have contributed, in some way, toward focusing public attention on this river. Early explorers used it as a road to the new interior of America; downstream went a steamboat in 1810 to change the course of commerce; the law paused to look at the Wheeling Bridge case, and in some way or other it has always been in the field of public appeal. Just below Parkersburg, some seven miles, is located the lovely region known as Washington Bottom, owned for many years by General Washington. Here on July 9, 1845, some slaves left the Harwood plantation and sought refuge on the Ohio shore to the north. Out of this grew a great court case, in which one Samuel Vinton delivered an address that drew attention from coast to coast. Who owned the Ohio River, Vir-

ginia or Ohio? In *The West Virginia-Ohio Boundary,* Eugene O. Porter has given an excellent study of this most interesting and important question.

Another chapter dealing with the great Ohio River, can be found in *La Salle and the Ohio River,* in which Daniel C. Draper, after much study of the question, gives his conclusions and findings concerning the noted explorer and his connection with the Ohio Valley. The subject has been before students of American history for many years, but, now and then, something new comes to light, and this article is in that direction.

And along the Ohio and its tributaries, lived, and passed on, the great race of people we know as the Mound Builders, and after them the tribes of American Indians, who at one time or the other lived and hunted along almost every stream in the great basin. The remains of one or the other were on every hand in early days, but with the touch of white man, most have disappeared. H. C. Shetrone, widely known in the field of archaeology, in his *West Virginia Archaeology,* presents a basis for a long needed study of this phase of our history. More and more does the need for a study of this subject become apparent and this should be done without delay in order to preserve for posterity the records of these people and their occupation of what is now West Virginia.

The Revolutionary records continue to grow in importance and the whole work may, and possibly will, lead to something of a more permanent nature in the years to come.